

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
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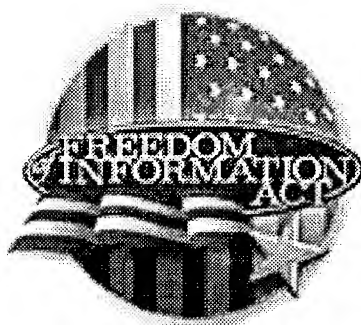
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FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: Graham, Frank Porter



FEDERAL

INVESTIGATION

BUREAU OF

WASHINGTON

NEWS SET

523d

Mr. Tolson

Mr. E. A. Tamm

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Carson

Mr. Egan

Mr. Gurnea

Mr. Hendon

Mr. Pennington

Mr. Quinn Tamm

Mr. Nease

Mr. Gandy

b7C

523d

ADD DEFENSE HEARING. MATTHEWS SAID, HAS THE NAMES OF A NUMBER OF
THE DIES COMMITTEE. MATTHEWS SAID, HAS THE NAMES OF A NUMBER OF
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES KNOWN TO BE COMMUNISTS. REP. CHARLES I. FADY
ASKED MATTHEWS TO SUBMIT THE NAMES. HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO DO SO
PROVIDED SUCH PROCEDURE WERE AGREEABLE TO THE DIES COMMITTEE.
REP. SHAFFER BROUGHT OUT THAT A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL MEDIATION
BOARD, DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
NORTH CAROLINA, FORMERLY HEADED THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN
WELFARE, NAMED BY MATTHEWS AS A COMMUNIST FRONT.
"YOU WOULD ACCUSE HIM OF BEING UN-AMERICAN?" REP. E. ING THOMASSON
INSISTED.
"NO, I CERTAINLY WOULD NOT," MATTHEWS SAID.
HE SAID MANY "VERY WELL-INTENTIONED PERSONS" HAD BEEN DUPED BY SUCH
ORGANIZATIONS.

4-15-GE436P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/10/03 BY SP-10/MLF

#941022

12-10-03

12-10-03

RECEIVED

NOT RECORDED

MAY 9 1941 100-23360-

cmh

WWW:mes
100-25300 - 2

July 15, 1942

Special Agent in Charge
Washington, D. C.

RE: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
WAR MEDIATION BOARD
INTERNAL SECURITY, HATCH ACT

Dear Sir:

For your information there is attached hereto a copy of a memorandum setting forth information available to the Bureau concerning the above-captioned individual. It is stated that this individual is the President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and is a member of the War Mediation Board.

You are instructed to search the photographic indices maintained by your office for the purpose of determining whether Dr. Graham's name appears on the indices of any of the organizations which are presently considered to be under the scope of Public Law No. 135, 77th Congress. You are further directed to make a discreet inquiry at the War Mediation Board for the purpose of verifying the employment of this individual with that agency.

No other investigation need be conducted relative to this individual pending instructions from the Bureau to the contrary.

For the information of the Charlotte Field Office there is a copy of the above-mentioned memorandum attached hereto. No investigation will be conducted by the Charlotte Office pending instructions to the contrary.

Tolson _____

E. A. Tamm _____

It is desired that this matter be placed in line for Messrs. _____ appropriate attention and that the results of your inquiry be submitted in the very near future.

Wadd _____

Nichols _____

osen _____

racy _____

arson _____

offey _____

ndon _____

amer _____

gins _____

Tamm _____

dy _____

cc Charlotte
Inclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/4/90 BY SP2 DM/MLR

Very truly yours,

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

John Edgar Hoover

Director

JUL 20 11 30 AM '42

Inclosure

W.W.
E.W.I.
G.M.H.

#941072

July 15, 1942

RFC:JLW

M E M O R A N D U M

Re: Dr. Frank Porter Graham
President of the University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and
Member of the War Mediation Board,
Washington, D. C.

Since 1930, Dr. Frank Porter Graham has served as the President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. He is presently a member of the War Mediation Board, Washington, D. C.

Frank Porter Graham was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, October 14, 1886. In 1909 he received an A. B. Degree from the University of North Carolina; in 1915 and in 1931 he received A. M. and Litt. D. Degrees respectively from Columbia University. In 1931 he received LL.D Degrees from Birmingham Southern College and Davidson College. In 1932 he received an LL. D Degree from Duke University. Dr. Graham is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholastic fraternity. He attended the University of Chicago, Brookings Institution and the University of London for graduate study. He enlisted in the United States Marines in June 1918 and served as a first and second lieutenant in the 1st and 10th North Carolina Regiments.

Dr. Graham has served as Vice Chairman of the National Consumers Advisory Board, Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Social Security, as a member of the National Emergency Council and is now a member of the War Mediation Board representing the public. (Who's Who in America, 1940-41, Vol. 21)

Dr. Graham allegedly has been affiliated with the following societies and organizations:

Mr. Tolson _____	American Association for Economic Freedom (61-7559-2286, 2313x1)
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____	American Civil Liberties Union (100-7057-22, p.100; 61-sub section 190-193)
Mr. Clegg _____	American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (61-7559-2802)
Mr. Glavin _____	American Committee for International Information (61-7559-10984)
Mr. Ladd _____	American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (61-7559-6678x1; 100-7046-33, p.8 and 9, 35, 52, 77 p. 20, 80, 120; 65-31562-4)
Mr. Nichols _____	American Friends of Spanish Democracy (61-7559-11880x1, 1880x2, 1880x3; 61-7566-194x; 100-7058-64)
Mr. Rosen _____	American Youth Congress (100-3587-ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/4/00 BY SP-6 UM/
Mr. Carson _____	
Mr. Coffey _____	
Mr. Hendon _____	
Mr. Holloman _____	
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____	
Mr. Nease _____	
Miss Gandy _____	

#941072

American Students Union (61-7558-138, p. 18)

Council Against Intolerance in America (61-7566-Sec. 63)

The Council for Democracy (100-76243-21)

Council of Young Southerners (61-7567-161)

The Keep American Out of War National Committee (61-7559-2802)

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
(61-7565 -176; 100-7058-62; 61-7561-206x)

National Committee, American Boycott Against Aggressor Nations
(61-7561-277x2)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (100-1170-49)

National Sharecroppers Week (100-14597-0)

National Student Federation of America (100-7056-64)

National Student Union (100-14597-0)

Northern California Conference for Protection of Foreign Born
(61-10747-1p.2)

Russian War Relief, Incorporated (61-7566-2994)

The Society for American Democracy. (61-7566-1434)

Youth Division of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare
(100-7991-1x, 5, 11, 19; 61-7559-7900x; 100-10355-17x, 20; 61-7559-A)

On June 28, 1938, it was stated that Dr. Frank Porter Graham had organized a southern summer school for women workers in industry and the summer school was stated to be pro-Communist. (61-105-416)

Although investigation failed to substantiate this claim, it has been reported that on November 23, 1936 there was a school in Little Switzerland, North Carolina which taught activities against this Government, the leading subject being Communism. Further, that this school was conducted by Dr. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina and that during last summer he lectured for three weeks on Communism and that each lecture was started by singing the "Internationale", the Communist song. (61-7558-35, 50)

The "Daily Worker", in the April 9, 1938 issue, published a petition to the President of the United States requesting the lifting of the American Embargo on the Spanish Government. The name, Dr. Frank P. Graham was listed among the signers of this petition. (61-7561-208x)

On September 21, 1940, the Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, now known as the New Theatre League and alleged to be a Communist school, was charged with anarchy and a warrant was served on Nathan Oser, Director of the College, at the direction of the Deputy Prosecuting Attorney of Mena, Arkansas. Dr. Frank P. Graham was among several individuals who protested the action taken by the Prosecuting Attorney. (61-6156-46)

On April 15, 1941, information was received that Representative Shafer, of the U. S. Congress, indicated that a member of the National Mediation Board, Dr. Frank P. Graham, former President of the University of North Carolina, formerly headed the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, named by Representative Matthews of the U.S. Congress as a Communist front. When asked by Representative Ewing Thomasson if he considered Graham as being unAmerican, Representative Matthews replied, "No", and added that many very well-intentioned persons have been duped by such organizations. (100-23300)

On May 7, 1941 it was reported that Dr. Frank P. Graham is listed by the Intourist Travel Agency as a member of the Advisory Council of Soviet Russia's State University of Moscow summer school for training American students in Communism. (61-7559-11699)

In the Congressional Record of November 3, 1941 for the House of Representatives, Dr. Frank P. Graham of the National Defense Mediation Board is charged as being a member of the Communist Party. This charge consists only of allegations set out as follows: (61-7559-11949)

In the Congressional Record of November 3, 1941, pages 8681, 8682, for the House of Representatives, under the topic "Communism Among Government Officials", a speech made by Representative Leland M. Ford of California, Mr. Ford stated that he held documentary proof of Dr. Frank P. Graham's affiliation with the following front organizations of the Communist Party:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American Friends of Spanish Democracy
American League for Peace and Democracy
Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo

523F
Re: Dr. Frank Porter Graham

Page 4

Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy
Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish
Democracy
National Labor Defense Committee
Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Mr. Ford pointed out the fact that Dr. Graham has associated himself with not less than ten front organizations of the Communist Party and stated to this extent Graham has aided the Communist Cause in this Country. Mr. Ford stated that he did not charge that Graham is a Communist in the sense that he holds a party membership card or definitely subscribes to the party's program. (66-6200-101-219)

On January 13, 1942, information was received that Dr. Frank Graham of the U. S. War Mediation Board can almost be classified as a Communist. (61-7562-1007)

In the April 9, 1942, issue of the "Daily Worker", it is stated that Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and a member of the War Mediation Board, representing the public, has petitioned President Roosevelt for the release of Earl Browder from Atlanta Penitentiary, where he has already served more than one year of his four year sentence. This information was said to have been furnished the "Daily Worker" newspaper by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Washington Field Division, 1437 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
July 28, 1942

THP:cl
101-2644

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mr. D. M. LADD

Re: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
National War Labor Board
INTERNAL SECURITY, HATCH ACT

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated July 18, 1942 (Bureau File 100-23300), concerning the captioned individual. Please be advised that the National War Labor Board, Office for Emergency Management, advised that Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM is at present a member of the National War Labor Board, representing the public, with offices located in the Department of Labor Building. The War Mediation Board advised that Dr. GRAHAM is not employed nor has he ever been employed by that organization.

A search of the photographic indices maintained by the Washington Field Office reflected that the name of Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, appears on the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. It was also noted on the photograph of the indices card of this organization, that there appeared the lettering "A.C.P.F.B.", indicating that Dr. GRAHAM was a member of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

The indices of the Washington Field Office further reflect that Dr. GRAHAM's name appears as a member of the National Committee of the Union for Democratic Action and it was also noted that according to the March 17, 1941 edition of "Review", organ of the Young Communist League, that Dr. GRAHAM was listed as a member of the National Committee of the International Student's Service. This article tended to indicate that various youth organizations including International Student's Service, had been set up by President ROOSEVELT in opposition to the American Youth Congress.

In compliance with your instructions, no further investigation is being conducted concerning Dr. GRAHAM.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/1/88 BY SP-8 JAW/ML

RECORDED

truly yours,

S. K. McKEE

Special Agent in Charge



COPY IN FILE
COPIES DESTROYED 6-25-58
207

EX-10

FIVE

WWW:ML
100-23300-3
8-14-42
RECORDED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. UGO CARUSI
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Please be advised that information has come to the attention of this Bureau through a confidential source indicating that the name of Dr. Frank Porter Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, appears on the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. It has now been determined that Dr. Graham is at present a member of the National War Labor Board "representing the public" and having offices located in the Department of Labor Building.

In view of the nature of Dr. Graham's employment as set forth above, I would appreciate your advice as to whether or not he is considered to be a Federal employee under the scope of Public Law No. 135, 77th Congress.

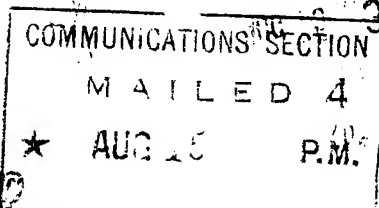
Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc-Mr.

b7C

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Kramer _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/00 BY 2200

Wm. H. H.

4



UGO CARUSI
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

August 17, 1942

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Coffey.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. McGuire.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....
Files.....

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER

Re: Dr. Frank Porter Graham, President of the
University of North Carolina and Member
of the National War Labor Board.

This is to advise in reply to your memorandum
dated August 15, 1942, that the above-named person
is considered to be a Federal employee under the
scope of Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress.

Ugo Carusi

Ugo Carusi
Executive Assistant
to the Attorney General

*Let WFO
8/19/42*
**ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/1/00 BY SP-6/mj/mf**

RECORDED

100-23300-4

5

19

FIVE



RECORDED
ESS:DS
100-33004

Date: November 19, 1942
To: SAC, Washington Field

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, National War Labor Board,
INTERNAL SECURITY, HATCH ACT.

Reference is made to your letter dated July 28, 1942, concerning the captioned individual.

You are advised that the Department has ruled that this individual is to be considered as an employee of the Federal Government within the scope of Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress, and you are therefore authorized to institute an immediate investigation under the provisions of this Congressional enactment.

All Bureau instructions relative to the investigation of Government Employees must be carefully adhered to during the course of this inquiry.

This matter must be assigned to an experienced Agent attached to your office to insure the discreet handling of this investigation, and it is desired that no inquiry whatsoever be instituted into this individual's affiliation with organizations which have not heretofore been declared to be subversive within the meaning of the afore-mentioned Congressional enactment.

You are directed to assign this matter for immediate attention so that a complete investigative report will be submitted to the Bureau within the very near future.

Copies of this letter are being forwarded to the Charlotte Office in order that an appropriate investigation with regard to the captioned subject will be conducted in accordance with all existing Bureau instructions relative to the investigation of Government Employees. This investigation is being authorized because of the information developed by the Washington Field Office that the name of the captioned individual appeared on the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. There should, therefore, be no inquiry whatsoever concerning this subject's alleged affiliation with the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, as is mentioned in the letter from the Washington Field Office dated July 28, 1942.

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Carson
Coffey
Hendon
Holloman
McGuire
Quinn Tamm
Nease
Gandy

CC: Charlotte

NOV 20 1942 P.M.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/4/2001 BY SP2 [signature]

270

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

ES:HBB
101-24

914 Johnston Building
Charlotte, North Carolina
December 5, 1942

DEC 23 1942
SPECIAL DELIVERY

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM,
National War Labor Board,
INTERNAL SECURITY, HATCH ACT
(Bureau File No. 100-23300)

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter to the Washington Field Office dated November 19, 1942, authorizing immediate investigation in the above-entitled matter.

This office assumes that Dr. GRAHAM will be interviewed by the Washington Field Office where he is connected with the National War Labor Board and where he spends a considerable portion of his time.

On the basis of the information presently in possession of the Charlotte Office, it is not known exactly what investigation in the Charlotte territory is desired. It is, therefore, requested that an investigative report be submitted by the Washington Field Office as soon as possible setting forth the background of this matter and the results of investigation in the Washington Field territory and any undeveloped leads which are to be covered by the Charlotte Field Office. No.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD SCHEIDT
Special Agent in Charge

cc: Washington Field



COPY IN FILE

COPIES DESTROYED 6-25-62

GNW:MAL

RECORDED

100-23300-5

December 23, 1942

Special Agent in Charge
Charlotte, North Carolina

RE: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
National War Labor Board
Internal Security-Ratch Act

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated December 5, 1942, in the above-captioned case, your file #101-24, requesting advice as to the type of investigation desired of your office with respect to this case. It is noted you suggest that the Washington Field Office conduct the necessary inquiry in the District of Columbia prior to your investigation.

Inasmuch as Dr. Graham has for several years served as President of the University of North Carolina, it is desired that you conclude your investigation prior to that of the Washington Field Office in order that the latter office may have the benefit of your investigation in interviewing Dr. Graham, under oath, in accordance with the usual manner of handling these types of cases.

As to the nature of your investigation, you are instructed to closely follow the instructions appearing in Bureau Bulletin No. 35, First Series, 1941. In order that you may have available for ready reference all Bureau instructions as to the manner in which these cases are to be handled, there are set forth below the following Bureau Bulletins:

Bureau Bulletin No. 35, First Series, 1941.
Bureau Bulletin No. 41, First Series, 1941.
Bureau Bulletin No. 57, Second Series, 1941.
Bureau Bulletin No. 34, First Series, 1942.

Mr. Tolson _____ As enclosures to the Bureau's letter, addressed to the Washington Field
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____ Office dated July 18, 1942, copies of which were designated for your office, you
Mr. Clegg _____ were furnished with summary information on Dr. Graham as noted from a review of
Mr. Glavin _____ the Bureau's files. Much of the material set forth is of a general nature and as
Mr. Ladd _____ you will note, does not apply to organizations heretofore declared "subversive"
Mr. Nichols _____ coming within the scope of Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress. In view of
Mr. Rosen _____ this, no mention of those matters should be noted in your investigative report.
Mr. Tracy _____ The only organizations with which Dr. Graham is reportedly affiliated and are
Mr. Carson _____ of a "subversive" nature are the following:
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Kramer _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

★ DEC 24 1942 P.M.

American Youth Congress
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
American League for Peace and Democracy
The Communist Party

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/1/00 BY SP8 NM/lm

DEC 24 1942

SAC, Charlotte

Page Two

Your investigation will, in view of the above, be designed to prove or disprove the allegation that Dr. Graham may be affiliated with these organizations. As you will note, from the memorandum of general information, it has been reported that Dr. Graham in November, 1936, gave a series of lectures on Communism at a school located in Little Switzerland, North Carolina. The investigation made at that time is shown in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated December 18, 1936, at Charlotte, North Carolina, in the case entitled, "Larry Hogan Camp, Old Fort, North Carolina; Subversive Activities-General". (61-7558-50) b7C

As noted therein, the inquiry then conducted was very discreet in nature and failed to verify the original information, though there is an indication that Dr. Graham appeared before the Larry Hogan Camp in giving the lectures referred to.

In view of the original allegation, it is desired that your inquiry determine, if possible, whether Dr. Graham did, in fact, deliver lectures on Communism at Old Fort, North Carolina.

You are instructed to give this prompt investigative attention in order that the results of your inquiry may be made available to the Washington Field Office as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

CC - Washington



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

January 9, 1943

ESS:RV
Call - 10:35 AM
Dictated - 10:50 AM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. [REDACTED]

Re: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____
Wicks

b7C

At this time Special Agent [REDACTED] of the Charlotte Office contacted me with respect to the above captioned case, and stated that some question had arisen as to the exact manner in which the Bureau desired the investigative reports prepared in this case. He stated that some controversial issues had been uncovered during the course of this investigation since this subject is apparently the subject of a great deal of criticism in North Carolina. He also advised that several exhibits had been obtained, which while not particularly relevant to this case, would conceivably be of interest to this Bureau.

I advised him that we wanted to avoid the raising of controversial issues in these investigative reports, since copies in each instance went outside the Bureau. I pointed out to him that the best way to handle this would be to leave these matters out of the investigative reports and bring them to the Bureau's attention by cover letter. As to the exhibits, I told him that the best way to handle this would be to merely transmit these to the Bureau as an enclosure to the investigative report, and make no reference in the report to the particular exhibits.

I pointed out to [REDACTED] that the Bureau wanted these reports prepared in a concise, comprehensive fashion, and that all immaterial or irrelevant information should be deleted. I also told him that no information should be included relative to organizations which had not been declared to be subversive by the Department.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/4/82 BY SP8 [REDACTED]

Respectfully,

[Signature]

RECORDED

100-23300-6
9 JAN 11 1943
EX-3

52 JAN 15 1943

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Kramer _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____



GNW:ML
100-23300

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
January 15, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

Re: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM,
*National War Labor Board.
INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT.

An investigation is presently being made concerning Dr. Graham who, for several years, has served as President of the University of North Carolina and at the present time is also engaged by the National War Labor Board. A great deal of information appears in the Bureau's files as to numerous organizations with which Dr. Graham is reportedly affiliated, the majority of which is not deemed "subversive" within the scope of the Congressional mandate. There is evidence, however, to show that he may be affiliated with the American Youth Congress, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the American League for Peace and Democracy and the Communist Party. The Charlotte Field Office, in being instructed to make this investigation, has been directed to use the utmost care and good judgment in handling the case.

In this regard, SA Galen N. Willis, of this Section, on January 11, 1943, lectured to the In-Service Class on Hatch Act investigations. Included in this class was SAC Scheidt, of the Charlotte Office who, in discussing this matter with Agent Willis following the lecture, advised that he himself had known Dr. Graham for several years, having at one time been a student under him. SAC Scheidt stated he considered Dr. Graham a fine individual and so far as he knew, was not a Communist or so inclined. He admitted that Dr. Graham had apparently been a "joiner" as his name did appear on letterheads of numerous organizations.

SAC Scheidt called attention to the fact that an Agent of the Charlotte Office spends a great deal of time at the University of North Carolina and has frequent contact with Dr. Graham whose cooperative attitude has been marked in giving information from school records to Bureau Agents. Mr. Scheidt suggested that due to the friendly nature of the office with Dr. Graham, the interview to be afforded the subject be handled by the Washington Field Office when the subject might be in the District of Columbia, if this were at all possible, otherwise the interview would, of necessity, have to be conducted by the Agent spending his time in the vicinity of the University.

ACTION TAKEN

RECORDED

1110 &

INDEXED

100-23300-7

In view of the above, and upon completion of the substantive investigation in this case, the Washington Field Office will be instructed 1943
interview Dr. Graham.

Respectfully,

b7C



53 FEB 7 1943

COPIES DESTROYED

EX - 41

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice**

914 Johnston Building
Charlotte, North Carolina
January 21, 1943

CSD:OC
101-24

Director, FBI

Re: DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT
(Bureau File 100-23300)

Dear Sir:

There are being enclosed for the information of the Bureau three pamphlets issued by DAVID CLARK, Editor and Publisher of the Textile Bulletin, Charlotte, North Carolina, in which Mr. CLARK sets forth all of the charges which, combined, have led to the belief on the part of certain groups that Dr. GRAHAM is to some extent affiliated with, or at least tolerant of, the Communist Party. These pamphlets were gathered in connection with the Hatch Act investigation recently conducted. It is believed that these pamphlets may have some investigative value for the Washington Field Division which, on the completion of its investigation, is to interview Dr. GRAHAM.

There is also being enclosed for the information of the Bureau the Convocation Address delivered by Dr. GRAHAM in the fall of 1939. The full text of this address is being supplied to the Bureau because it is typical of sentiments which Dr. GRAHAM has expressed time and time again in his writings and speeches.

It will be noted in the review of the pamphlets written by Mr. DAVID CLARK that considerable emphasis is placed on the ALTON LAWRENCE incident. This incident was not considered in the report submitted by this office in this matter because it is a matter which is highly controversial, and which does not lend itself to being definitely proved or disproved by investigation. The facts of this incident are as follows:

ALTON LAWRENCE, former student of the University of North Carolina and the son of a Presbyterian minister, was arrested in High Point, North Carolina, on September 5, 1934, charged with forcible trespass; to an extent which is not known LAWRENCE had affiliated himself with a group of labor agitators who on the same date forcibly entered a textile mill in High Point.

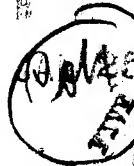


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b7C

Director

-2-

January 21, 1943

Re: Dr. Frank Porter Graham


and did a considerable amount of property damage. Dr. GRAHAM, who had just returned to Chapel Hill from Pawley's Island, South Carolina, learned of LAWRENCE's arrest and of the fact that he was being held in the High Point City Jail because of his inability to make bond. Investigation has failed to determine the source of Dr. GRAHAM's information. It is known, however, that he did not make any extended inquiry into the facts of the matter, but immediately wired High Point authorities stating that he would meet the bond set on ALTON LAWRENCE. The judge in High Point refused to honor the telegram, and Dr. GRAHAM prevailed upon a former president of the North Carolina Bankers Association, then in High Point, North Carolina, to advance the necessary money for the bond.

Dr. GRAHAM has been questioned on this matter on several occasions, the last being on May 12, 1940, when he was interviewed by Mr. [REDACTED] of the Charlotte News. At that time, Dr. GRAHAM pointed out in justification the fact that the case against LAWRENCE was subsequently non-suited because of lack of evidence that LAWRENCE ever entered upon the premises of the damaged plant. During this same interview, Dr. GRAHAM stated, "I would do the same thing again. I would do the same thing for any other student or alumnus, or human being for that matter, so held in jail with no one to go his bond."

b7C

A review of the Charlotte files regarding ALTON LAWRENCE failed to indicate any evidence that LAWRENCE was affiliated with the Communist Party during this particular period. However, in recent years LAWRENCE has been observed openly meeting with known Communists. He was very friendly with MYRON ROSS, Alias Mike Ross, the Communist leader in the Carolinas during the late 1930's. He is also known to have met in closed conference with ROBERT MINOR, a known executive in the Communist Party, USA,

Very truly yours,


EDWARD SCHEIDT
Special Agent in Charge

Enclosures

on this envelope
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ENCLOSURE

100-23300-8

Communism and Socialism at Chapel Hill

(Address of David Clark before Charlotte Lions Club, August 12th, 1940)

The invitation to address you came to me unsolicited and unexpected, but I welcome it because my position relative to subversive teachings at the University of North Carolina has been grossly misrepresented. I wish to say in the beginning that at no time have I made any attack upon the University of North Carolina. It is a fine institution and at least 85% of the faculty attend to the teaching duties for which they are paid and take no part in propaganda of any kind.

There has been at the University a small group of radicals whom I regard as a cancer upon the institution. I contend that a man may advocate the removal of a cancer from the body of his mother without being unjustly accused of making an attack upon her.

I am not, nor have I ever been, interested in the activities of students or the voluntary adoption, by some of them, of the theories of atheism, socialism, communism or naziism.

It is but natural that in a large student body some of them should temporarily go off at a tangent in their thinking. However, if left alone, most of them return to sanity.

I am absolutely in accord with the position of the American Educational Association, as adopted at an Atlantic City meeting, when they said, "Academic freedom is freedom to learn but not freedom to teach."

My position is that professors and instructors, at a state-supported institution, should not be allowed to use their class rooms for propaganda purposes and my charges are that it has been done at the University of North Carolina and that while so doing they have been sure of the protection, if not the encouragement, of the head of the University.

If you employ a man as a salesman and find that he spends two days each week upon his private business, you fire him for dishonesty. If a man is paid to teach English but spends time teaching Communism he is guilty of dishonesty.

My charges cannot be pushed aside with the statement that it is done at all other colleges and universities because such is not the case. There are, of course, a few professors at other Southern institutions who are inclined towards atheism, socialism, communism and naziism but the University of North Carolina is the only Southern institution at which there appears to have been a drive for converts or definite contacts with the red movement in the United States. There was one other college which was affiliated with the movement, a few years ago, due, I think, to the former connection of Prof. Howard Odom with that institution, but in recent years the University of North Carolina has stood alone in the South as a haven for reds and Fifth Columnists.

Columbia, Harvard and Wisconsin, in the North, have had similar connections and have been regularly visited by the same radical leaders as the University of North Carolina.

The Kansas City Star well says:

"The public which puts up the money to support a school, certainly has the right to supervision of what is done with the money. The fact that a man has a university appointment does not guarantee his judgment or make certain that some half-baker instructor, may not go beyond the bounds of decency in dealing with young pupils."

The United States Supreme Court said in writing its opinion in the Oregon School test case:

"No question is raised concerning the power of the state reasonably to regulate all schools, to inspect, supervise and examine them, their teachers and pupils; to require that all children of proper age attend some school, that teachers be of good moral character and patriotic disposition, that certain studies plainly essential to good citizenship must be taught and *that nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare.*"

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Mrs. Alfred J. Brosseau, of Connecticut, President-General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in an address at Charlotte, said:

"America is in more danger today from educated leaders than from illiterate immigrants, and the real menace to American ideals is the college professor, who is teaching his pupils to despise American institutions."

John Hays Hammond in an article in Colliers says:

"Nowhere do the universities fail more miserably than in the teachings of economics and political science, for in these subjects, as in a paddock, romp most of the professional cranks and demagogues."

Freeman Hopwood, of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, said in an address:

"The beauty of it is that we have so many atheists in the college faculties of America. They encourage the students all they can. As the movement grows the professors will become more and more open in their private beliefs."

Many years ago, Bismarck of Germany said:

"What you wish to have in the life of a nation, first place is the schools of a nation."

Taking a leaf from Bismarck's book, Paul Blanchard, Field Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, formerly called the Intercollegiate Socialist League, said:

"Our hope is the next generation of workers. We must educate the young. *We must peg into the minds of the young while they are still plastic.*"

Blanchard also said:

"The most encouraging development of recent years is the identification of the ablest students and the ablest young professors with the insurgent group."

"College radicalism grows in the Liberal Club, Round Tables, Students Forum, or simply a chapter of the League (League for Industrial Democracy)."

"The local group aims to be a ferment on the campus, a challenge to undergraduates. *It brings in the most provocative speakers available.*"

To show that this policy was carried out at Chapel Hill, I quote the following from an issue of the student publication, the Daily Tar Heel:

"Representing the League of Industrial Democracy, Mary W. Hillyer, manager of the society's lecture series, will deliver an outline of the organization's policies and plans in Gerrard Hall tomorrow night."

"It is the object of this society to provide education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit. With this end in mind, it has sponsored a lecture series, which Miss Hillyer will describe tomorrow evening. Among the subjects treated in the lecture circuit program are: the literature of revolt, America is an interdependent world, socialization of credit, and public utilities and public ownership."

After the meeting this statement appeared:

"At the meeting yesterday in Gerrard Hall, plans were discussed for a series of lectures sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy."

Miss Hillyer went back to Chapel Hill many Falls and I quote the above as showing that she, as the representative of an un-American and communistic organization, was permitted to supervise the making out of the list of those who were to address students.

Paul Blanchard, the Field Secretary for the League for Industrial Democracy, was disloyal to the United States during the first World War and was placed in prison upon charges connected with his actions at a munitions plant but was always welcomed by the radical group at Chapel Hill.

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As long as the other Southern college, mentioned above, continued its radical activities, Blanchard visited both regularly but after the other college withdrew, the University of North Carolina was the only one he visited in the South or to which he sent Miss Hillyer.

Having noted the admission that she was permitted to supervise the lecture, let us take a look at some of those who appeared as lecturers.

Langston Hughes, a negro communist, made the statement that he doubted that there was any such thing as a Southern gentleman and wrote a poem from which I quote:

“Christ is a Nigger,
Beaten and Black—
O, bare your back.

Most holy bastard
Of the bleeding mouth;
Nigger Christ
On the Cross of the South.”

Six weeks later he was entertained at the Y. M. C. A. at Chapel Hill and professors introduced him to two groups of students with fulsome praise. After his visit and with full knowledge of the insulting statements made by Langston Hughes, the Daily Tar Heel said:

“Langston Hughes, prominent negro poet and novelist, spoke before various groups of the student body during the latter part of last week. His poetry as well as his speaking is the expression of a clear and sincere spirit.”

A few months later the negro, Langston Hughes, who was credited at Chapel Hill with a clear and sincere spirit, went to Japan but was immediately deported upon the grounds that he was a paid agent of communism.

Then Bertrand Russell of England was brought to Chapel Hill and entertained. Possibly his popularity was based upon the fact that England has convicted him of treasonable actions during the World War and that he had served a term of six months in jail. That identified him as a Fifth Columnist.

Bertrand Russell, a man who had openly practiced immorality, had stated:

“My view is that the State and the Law should take no notice of sexual relations apart from children, and that no marriage ceremony should be valid unless accompanied by a medical certificate of the woman's pregnancy. I should not regard physical infidelity as a very grave cause and should teach people that it is to be expected and tolerated. Young people should be encouraged to have sex experience before marriage.”

After his visit the Daily Tar Heel said:

“What Mr. Russell said can be chiefly characterized as common sense, the type of common sense which is the result of careful thinking and a long and full life. His ideas appeared unusually acceptable because they were the ideas most of us hold—but either cannot or are afraid to express. We are delighted to hear someone set forth our thoughts, particularly a speaker who is acknowledged one of the foremost philosophers of our day.”

The following week a University student, evidently under the influence of the Bertrand Russell address, contributed the following to the same paper:

“Some people can't seem to realize that the days of purity, self-sacrificing, ideals and all that bunk are gone forever. We are living in a modern world—a world of 'get out of life what you can and let the devil take the hindmost.' Then, too, that phrase 'doubtful pleasures.' There is no such thing as evil or wickedness—merely the standards of the times in which one happens to be living.”

There came also the old blatherskite, the apostle of vulgarity and disloyalty, Bernard Shaw of England, with the statement:

"I am a more thoroughgoing communist than ever Lenin was."

Bernard Shaw's vulgarities and disloyalties to his own country made such a hit at Chapel Hill that an admiring professor decided to write a history of his life.

Norman Thomas is another "Fifth Columnist" who was a frequent visitor to Chapel Hill. Mr. Thomas calls himself a socialist but when he was nominated for President, the delegates waved red flags and sang "The International" of Russia. A section of a song they sang said:

Let the Red army, then
Grip their bayonets with calloused hands,
All of us must march relentlessly into the last gory battle.
We will fan the flames
Of the world conflagration.
We will raze churches and prisons to the ground.

Norman Thomas was in 1919 named by the U. S. Department of Justice as one of those who controlled red organizations or obstructionists during the first World War which means that he was definitely a "Fifth Columnist."

In 1932 Professors E. E. Ericson and W. B. Sanders of the University of North Carolina and one of their students, Alton Lawrence, appeared before the North Carolina Election Board and demanded that the Socialist Party electors for Norman Thomas be placed upon the ballot in equal position with those of the Democratic and Republican parties.

A poll of students in 1932 showed 179 at the University of North Carolina favoring Norman Thomas, as against 9 at the University of South Carolina and 23 at the University of Florida. No poll was taken at the University of Virginia or the University of Georgia. The people of North Carolina are conservative and I see in that large vote at the University of North Carolina a proof of the influence of radical professors upon students.

Many other radical speakers have come to the University of North Carolina and with them, for appearance sake, a few conservatives.

I have the testimony of students to the effect that after an address by a radical, certain professors devote class room time to emphasizing and affirming the statement which he had made but that after a conservative address they seek to nullify and discredit statements of such speakers.

From the Daily Tar Heel of April 21, 1932, I quote the following:

"Michael Gold, author and editor of New Masses, stopped in Chapel Hill for a three days' stay. Thursday he addressed Phillips Russell's English class. He was on his way from Florida to New York."

Michael Gold was an admitted Communist and one of the most vicious radicals in the United States. Not only that but the Post Office Department entirely suppressed one issue of his paper because of its vulgarity and indecency. He appeared to have been popular at Chapel Hill, for he stopped for three days while on his way to Florida. Did he spend the three days as a lonely man, quietly sitting under the trees or was he conferring with other promoters of communism and Fifth Column activities? I am mindful of the old adage, "Birds of a feather flock together."

President Frank Graham has admitted affiliation with the "International Fellowship of Reconciliation" which upon its letterhead declares that its members should

Aim at the replacement of capitalism by a system of collective ownership . . .
study the experiment of Soviet Russia in relation to the class struggle.

In universities, schools and the home, seek to establish in children and youth a mind set free enough to criticize the present social order . . .

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation has persistently refused to reveal its sources of revenue but was believed to be directly financed by Soviet Russia. Frank Graham's name was attached to one of their pamphlets.

Frank Graham, while a professor of history, took an active interest in the textile strike at Gastonia, N. C., which was staged under communistic auspices and with the support of hired gunmen and thugs from Cincinnati and New York. He congratulated Nell Battle Lewis upon her success in raising money for the strikers. The death of Amy Wiggins, who was mysteriously shot near the end of the strike, was regrettable, but she did not live in a mill village nor was she a mill employee as stated by Mr. Graham in a verse which he published in support of the strikers.

In the summer of 1935 he sponsored the Summer School of Moscow University which was for the purpose of having American young men and young women go to Russia and sit at the feet of Soviet instructors. I hold in my hand a reproduction of the front page of the pamphlet which was sent to prospective students and you will find Frank Graham listed as a sponsor.

(See next page.)

The reading matter in the catalog describes, in part, the course as "an elementary course, presenting and describing the basic ideas and institutions of Soviet society." "The student," says the catalog, "will be given an outline of the Marxian view of the role of science in the socialist society." "The course will include a description of early types of planning under military communism."

The following summer, 1936, Frank Graham signed a protest against allowing American athletes to participate in the Olympic games in Germany upon the grounds that while there they might learn something about nazism.

I am just as much against Hitler as Frank Graham but it is significant that just prior to the time President Graham signed the protest, the Hitler Government had done the only good thing it ever did, which was to stop the march of communism across Europe and had incurred the bitter hatred of all communists and friends of communism.

I certainly condemn Hitler for his treatment of the Jews and Catholics but nothing Hitler did compares to the crimes which Stalin committed in Russia in order to establish himself as a Dictator.

For every Jew or Catholic killed in Germany thousands of persons, including many army officers, were shot in Russia without trial. For every Jew or Catholic placed in a detention camp in Germany, Russia sent thousands to exile in Siberia. Apparently Frank Graham could see nothing wrong in such actions by the communist rulers of Russia.

Just prior to President Graham's sponsorship of the effort to give American boys and girls an opportunity to learn communism in Russia, Dictator Stalin had put to death, without trial, thousands of the people of his country and in addressing a group of visiting American communists had said:

I think that the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will be unleashed in America, and when that revolutionary crisis comes in the United States, it will mark the end of world capitalism. The Communist Party of the United States must be armed to be able to meet this historical moment and to head the forthcoming class war.

Robert Ripley, of "Believe-It-Or-Not" Fame, and whose statements are never disproved, had visited Russia and said:

"In a single year—1932 four million peasants died of starvation in the Ukraine and North Caucasus—the most fertile part of all Russia.

Starvation in Russia was not due to crop failures—it was a man-made famine. The Soviet Government deliberately caused this ghastly chaos by robbing the farmers of their grain in order to sell it in foreign countries and acquire foreign currency."

MOSCOW STATE
UNIVERSITY

Summer Session

(Anglo-American Section)

1935

July 16–August 25

MOSCOW
U. S. S. R.

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INTOURIST, INC.,
Educational Department

545 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY SUMMER SESSION (Anglo-American Section)

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of Pennsylvania.

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH, Director, Clinic for the Social Adjust-
ment of Gifted Children, New York University.

(This reproduction is about 2/3 actual size)

President Graham admits that he gave active support to the so-called "Loyalists" of Spain which in the final breakdown were uncovered as a communist organization backed by Russia. In the final days of the Spanish contest, President Graham signed a demand upon Congress that the embargo be lifted so that the Loyalists might receive arms from the United States and continue the fight which meant, to fight for the establishment of communism in Spain.

President Graham justifies his offering to go bond, in 1934, for Alton Lawrence, who learned his socialism at Chapel Hill, by stating that Lawrence was cleared and it is true that he was cleared of a charge of trespass. A member of the flying squadron, which broke out the doors and windows of a hosiery mill at High Point and drove out the employees, testified that Alton Lawrence urged the attack and accompanied them within sight of the mill. As Lawrence did not enter, he could not be convicted of trespass. President Graham says that he would go bond for any graduate of Chapel Hill but the only instance on record seems to be that of a socialist product who accompanied a flying squadron while on its way to commit unlawful acts.

There were two resolutions passed in Birmingham in connection with the meeting of a group which elected Frank Graham as president. His organization passed a resolution condemning Birmingham for having an ordinance which did not permit negroes to be seated beside white people in a convention and then the City Council of Birmingham passed a resolution expressing the hope that the organization, over which Frank Graham had just been elected to preside, would never again foul Birmingham with its presence. Social equality with negroes is one of the tenets of communism. I believe in fair treatment of negroes but agree with many of their leaders that it is for the best interest of the negroes for each race to have its own activities and its own social affairs.

Prof. E. E. Ericson of the University took dinner in a negro hotel at Durham with a negro communist. If he had been at any other Southern university except the University of North Carolina, it is a safe bet that he would have been fired but under President Graham he has been promoted and had his salary increased.

When a man named Gibson was jailed at Rutherfordton, N. C., his first act was to wire Professor Ericson at Chapel Hill to arrange bond for him.

The warrant against Gibson charged:

"Did preach and promulgate sedition against the United States Government, and that he did propose to find, provide and furnish money to promote and support a revolution against the United States Government."

Can anyone argue that Professor Ericson of the University of North Carolina had had no previous affiliation with Gibson?

When two cotton mills were dynamited at Burlington, N. C., my interest was aroused by the fact that the American Federation of Labor refused to give the accused persons any support and cancelled the local charter to prevent its funds being used.

I employed a union organizer and sent him to Burlington with instructions to learn the truth. He later reported to me that there was no doubt about the guilt of those accused but that the inspiration came from communists.

Within a few days one of the leaders of communism in Virginia moved to Burlington and took charge and was joined there by Prof. E. E. Ericson, instructor Arnold Williams and several other University of North Carolina professors.

They took two of the dynamiters to Chapel Hill and staged a big meeting of students at which the dynamiters were presented, as innocent men being framed by capitalists. It is apparent that they sought to arouse students to the point that they would espouse communism.

The dynamiters were later convicted and their conviction upheld by the Supreme Court.

The row raised over their trial was a typical communist effort and was handled almost entirely by University of North Carolina professors.

Can any of you recall incidents, similar to the many I have enumerated, happening at any other Southern college or university?

You will agree with me now that where there is so much smoke, there must be some fire.

As I stated in the beginning, at least 85% of the professors at the University of North Carolina do the work for which they are paid and engage in no propaganda efforts but the radical group, under the protection of President Frank Graham, have made Chapel Hill a haven for radicals and Fifth Columnists. It seems that credentials for permission to lecture to students have been disbelief in God, contempt for morality, disloyalty to your country and affiliation with Fifth Column efforts.

These affiliates of foreign communism and nazism prate about liberty and liberalism while seeking to aid those who would deny liberty to all except a chosen few.

They prate about freedom of speech and represent it as something absolute.

A man who arose in a crowded theatre and shouted "Fire!" would be exercising freedom of speech but he would find himself in jail.

The radical professors shout about freedom but what they really desire is license to use a soap box in their classroom and a right to present their atheist, socialist and communist allies to groups of students. They wish to draw their salaries from funds provided by citizens of North Carolina while seeking to tear down our standards of loyalty and morality.

There are on record many letters from Chapel Hill students to parents, which tell of efforts of professors or instructors to sell atheism, socialism or communism to them but the student who would expose such an effort would be accused of disloyalty to the University.

Strange as it may seem, most of the radicals and most of those who use their class rooms for propaganda purposes are reported to be in the English department. They are paid to teach English, but devote part of their instruction periods to trying to sell socialism and communism to young men intrusted to their care.

Some assert that no professor ever uses his class for propaganda purposes but no one cares to explain why the following appeared in the Daily Tar Heel:

"Arnold Williams, who is remembered on this campus for the introduction of communist theory into freshman English course, has left the University for a position on the Faculty of the Missouri School of Mines."

He is the same Arnold Williams who aided the communists in promoting a disturbance over the Burlington dynamiters.

Frank Graham recently told the trustees that he would resign unless he was allowed to run a liberal University, and the Stanly Press-News of Albemarle replied by saying:

"If we are any judge of public sentiment, Dr. Graham's threat to quit his post, if not allowed to keep the University 'liberal' may result in a widespread demand that he carry out that threat."

Young men go to the University of North Carolina and pay for an education with the hope that when they graduate they will be able to secure good positions.

What is added to the chances of the students by permitting a group of radical professors to have so-called freedom?

Only a limited number of students are permanently affected by radical teachings, but many business men now place a question mark against every graduate of the University of North Carolina. When employing college graduates they give preference to graduates of the University of Virginia and other institutions, where there is academic freedom for students but professors are not allowed to engage in propaganda.

It is a pity that President Frank Graham cannot see the ill repute into which his mistaken ideas of liberality is bringing a great institution like the University of North Carolina. It is my opinion and that of many of the alumni, that he is doing the institution much injury.

Text of President Graham's Opening Convocation Address

The opening of the University comes at a critical hour. Though we are not in position to judge the hour, we must consider situations preceding and following which challenge our faith and purpose. Western men for more than a century have thought that democracy was the measure and the inevitable goal of political progress. In a world in which men everywhere had lately come to aspire toward freedom and democracy but now, in terrible disillusionment, insecurity and fear, have turned and are turning to dictators and totalitarian ways, it is high time that we of the schools and colleges have recourse to our basic faith.

The religious conception of one God and one human family, of all men as brothers and as Sons of God, is the source of the conception of freedom and democracy in the modern world. The often cruel acquisitiveness of modern society, the World War, the world depression, and worldwide human miseries, have combined to challenge the sincerity of our religion, the intelligence of our education, and to shake the very foundations of freedom and democracy in the present world.

Crippled Democracy
Freedom and democracy are now crushed or renounced in more than half the world. Above the spiritual conceptions and humane spirit of religion rise the strident claims and cruel power of national glory in Fascist Italy, ruthless racialism in Nazi Germany, atheistic materialism in Communist Russia, inhuman militarism in autocratic Japan, and much that is unchristian in finance-industrialism in Western European, British Imperial, and American Democracies.

In democratic America we are asking ourselves searching questions: Why have people in so many parts of the world turned away from democracy with its universal suffrage, parliaments, the rule of political majorities, its guarantees of freedom of worship, assembly, petition, speech, and the press, and the processes of law for persons and property? Why, in their stead, have people in so many lands turned to, or accepted, the tyrannies of dictators and the regimentations of the totalitarian state? Many and complex causes prepared the way for, and many diverse factors entered into, the rise to world power of the modern totalitarian states. Not the least of these causes, the one which concerns us now, is the long failure of democracy to satisfy some of the basic needs of the human body and some of the highest aspirations of the human spirit. Democracy had provided equality of suffrage, but not equality of opportunity; the freedom of worship but not the right to work; the freedom of assembly and the right of collective petition but not the freedom of the self-organization of workers and the equality of collective bargaining; corporate privilege but not agricultural parity; and political liberty but not social security against the hazards of modern society.

The democracies, in general, with their dominant position, and America, in particular, with its unparalleled possession of the resources of abundance, presented to the world the many disillusionments such as the insecurity of peace in a world of armaments, poverty of farmers in a world in need of food, child labor and sweatshops in the midst of unemployment, loss of farms and homes in a society largely based on them, poverty and dependence of men and women after lives of faithful

work, injustice to Negroes and to other racial and religious minorities, oligarchic corporate manipulation of stockholders, regimentation of workers, and wide misinformation of consumers, the use of the historic documents of human freedom in behalf of economic power over the freedom of human beings, vast unemployment in the midst of universal need, hunger amid plenty, and disillusionment and despair in a world of youth and opportunity. The old political liberties and social drift of a more static society are tragically insufficient to meet the vast economic changes, the financial crises, and the deep human needs of our dynamic modern society.

Despite this insufficiency, despite all the failures, people everywhere held on to the hopes of freedom and democracy. Those who struck them down had to plead to the people that revolution and dictatorship were only transitions to a larger freedom and a more real democracy. The dictators, in recognition of the people's abiding dream, and in fear of the people's instruments of freedom, resorted to ruthless force, liquidated the opposition, abolished or subjugated parliaments, labor unions and churches, destroyed the freedom of the press, the radio, the schools and universities, and terrorized minorities and individuals, whose combined liberties would make impossible the maintenance of the dictatorship of a totalitarian state.

Cause of the Jew
Upon the Jews, as the national scapegoat for defeat on the battlefield and for the injustices of Versailles, as the alleged front of both international capitalism and international Communism, as political force and the basis of a nation—upon the Jew fell the heaviest brunt of the Nazi fury. With their ancient and stubborn Biblical ideas of a moral sovereignty above the claims and power of the state, and with their conception of the moral autonomy, dignity and freedom of the individual the Jew, had to go, not only on his own account, but also as a less costly example and warning to Catholics, Protestants, and all others who might question the moral supremacy of the totalitarian state. For the sins of Versailles, the World War, international finance, and class war, falsely imputed to and gathered up in the person of the Jew, all religions, all minorities, and all liberties are vicariously crucified. As author and purveyor of our most precious ancient heritage and for what he represents in the long human struggle for moral autonomy and freedom, the cause of the Jew is the cause of mankind.

Fascist Fury
Above this sacrifice of the people of an ancient book and religion, above the shackling of the churches, parliament, labor unions, business enterprise, newspapers, radio, schools, and universities, there rise in Germany for review again and again with powerful popular appeal: the scrapping of the hateful treaty of Versailles, the solidarity and morale of a people at work, the reconquest of the Rhineland, the annexation of Austria, the absorption of Czechoslovakia, and the recovery and assertion of national prestige and power. In Russia, above the continuous elimination of religion, as the opiate of the people, the abolition of civil liberties, the crushing of incipient democracy, and the relentless terrorism ruthless to any opposition, rise the mounting figures of employment, education, industrial production, and the economic living standards of the masses of people. In Italy above the subordi-

nation of religion and the subjugation of parliament, press, radio, labor unions, business enterprise, schools and universities, is heard, in contrast to pre-Fascist confusion and disorder, the whistle of steam engines on regular time schedule, the Fascist appeals of hardship and sacrifice to the innate heroism of youth, and the imperial call of the Caesars on both sides of the historic Mediterranean. Amid old liberties which failed mankind and amid crumbling ruins of democratic ways, which have been unadapted to meet the human needs in a modern world, the people have accepted leaders who turned from these unadjusted ways of government falling to govern in the interests of the people to the quick power of the dictatorship of a totalitarian state.

America's Task
In America we would seize the hour, not for a dictator and not for war, but to put our house in order according to the intended American way of a real freedom and a just democracy. We must realize that America is neither a static society nor detached from the currents of a dynamic world. As the dictator, with all his promises, found it necessary to crush or subordinate to his purpose the church, parliament, labor unions, business enterprise, the press, radio, schools and universities, in order to make possible the totalitarian dictatorship, so, in America, must resolutely protect and advance the decent freedom of all these for their own sake in the public interest and to make impossible the dictatorship of a totalitarian state.

As Americans, and as Jews and Christians, men and women, we must look beyond America and beyond the hour. With youth in two hemispheres—their faces fresh and open to the winds of the world—considering now the direction and ways of the future, we must look beyond the forms and instruments of freedom to the deeper sources of our democratic and spiritual faith. In Asia today, youth by the millions are wavering between atheistic Communism and so-called Christian democracy. The deliberate and glaring contradictions in the professions and practices of both make their choice problematical. To the principles of Communism it was found necessary in Russia to join the totalitarian terror. To the Christian teaching of human brotherhood and mutual aid was added in the West selfish, ruthless competition. We find it more comfortable to overlook the fact that the ways of the Jewish-Christian teaching and the ways of the American dream have not yet been really tried. In fairness to this hope as an alternative to the Fascist and Communist ways of the totalitarian dictatorship, and in fairness to the youth and the future of the world, we must not in proud complacency, cynical disillusionment, or cowardly despair, deny and betray the early promise of the American dream. We must not mistake a political majority for the outer husks for the economic and spiritual substance, or any of the indispensable realities of democracy in the modern world. The old victories for human liberty can be preserved only in the revised versions of the new struggle for democracy. Freedom can be protected by the advance of equality of opportunity. Liberty can be raised to higher levels by the widening of social security. The old Bill of Rights can be saved only by provision for the new Bill of Rights.

A reexamination of the meaning

of liberty and equality, from time to time, is required for the tolerance of differences, for the preservation of freedom and the wise adjustments of democracy to meet the human needs of modern society.

Terror for Error
America, settled by peoples of many regions, races, religions, colors, creeds, and cultures, should, by moral example, lead the way in the watchword of this conference, in helping "to make the world safe for differences." The haven of heretics in the days of its weakness should not, in the days of its power, become the stronghold of bigots. The world has given America the vigor and variety of its differences. America should protect and enrich its differences for the sake of America and the world. Understanding religious differences makes for a better understanding of other differences and for an appreciation of the sacredness of human personality, as basic to human freedom. The freedom of differences of opinion is necessary to the development of a free personality and to the progress of a free society. Repression is the way of frightened power. Freedom is the way of enlightened faith. History teaches beyond the denial of bigotry of the sneer of cynicism that the answer to a difference of opinion is not denunciation, is not a concentration camp; the answer to error is not terror, but the cleansing power of light and liberty under the moral law.

The Christian View
We need the freedom of an ideological disarmament in so far as we first emotionally inquire whether an idea, achievement or proposal is, in origin and connection, Jewish, Catholic or Protestant, Democratic or Republican, white, black or yellow, liberal or reactionary, individualistic or socialistic, fascist or Communist. Free minds would ask on the merits of the case, after a consideration of all sides, whether the proposal is wise, fair and necessary; whether it is, in the circumstances, the intelligent and decent thing to do. Emancipated intelligence is necessary to freedom and democracy. Civil liberties are necessary for the democratic values of a free intelligence. The test of the bill of rights is its application to those whose ideas the majority may despise the most. Americanism grown on this soil is not a frail plant that must be falsely protected with terrorism by those without faith in the depth of its rootage or the robustness of its timber. Its roots are deep in the teachings of our religion, in the traditions of the race and in the ideals of our own country. Jesus on the road to Jerusalem, Gamaliel in the Sanhedrin, Socrates, John Milton, Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore, Thomas Jefferson, and all those who have struggled and suffered for the freedom of the human mind made no reservation against the free conscience of those whose ideas might be strange to us. In the cause of the freedom of religion, organization, press, speech, and teaching, spiritual heroism shines out all along the way of the human pilgrimage. The cross and the stake reveal; the synagogue, the church, the university, the newspaper, and the soap box, carry on the unconquerable aspiration of the human spirit, for a freer and better world.

Both a product and a source of freedom is the freedom of human beings to organize in behalf of their liberties and their life interests. One test of freedom is the equal freedom of organization. We came into this world as a nation

through the organization of thirteen separate colonies into the United States of America. We fought the Revolution for the recognition of this federated organization. The freedom of men to organize into autonomous and federated groups has been won in long struggles in the fields of religion, politics, commerce, and industry.

The power of the great Roman Empire struck down the unrecognized and despised organizations of early Christians but the little congregations of lowly believers became the Church universal, which transformed the sackable city of Rome into the unsackable City of God, transmitted the ancient learning, resynthesized Western culture, built the cathedrals, founded the universities, and despite all its faults and failures, with its conception of the brothers of men and the sons of God, has been for the longest period the most beneficent organization in history. The church, in its turn of predominance, tried to block the rise to sovereign power of the new autonomous nations within the papal dominion. Then the new absolute national monarchies, having become entrenched in independent power, sought to check the rise to increasing power of the autonomous organization of the people's representatives in Parliament. Yet Parliament won its struggle for collective bargaining with the king, and their written agreement became the English Bill of Rights, which, since 1689, has been the charter of constitutional government for all nations which have followed the traditions of the English speaking peoples.

America's Heritage
The seventeenth century is the century of the English migration to America. Two movements under way in England in that century became of far reaching significance to America. In the early seventeenth century a little group of simple people had the audacity to think that they had the right to organize for religious worship without the authority of king or bishop. For such treasonous freedom of organization they were harried out of the land. After many vicissitudes in a foreign land and on strange seas, this little group, still clinging to their principles of piety and autonomous religious organization, fetched up on the wintry shores of Massachusetts where their spiritual heroism made Plymouth Rock one of the foundation stones of religious congressionalism and a political self government in America.

One year before the Pilgrims reached American shores Sir Edwin Sandys, treasurer of the London Company, itself an expression of a new form of autonomous commercial organization, led a movement in the company to grant the right of autonomous representative assembly to the settlers in Virginia. The less far-sighted business men said it would ruin the business enterprise to give these workmen the right to share in the regulation of their conditions of life and labor. But the intelligent idealism of Sir Edwin Sandys prevailed over the fears of the more practical minded business men. Thus was born the first representative assembly in the new world. The democratic idea of autonomous political organization, later federated in the American Union, whose American standard was first raised on the banks of the James River in old Virginia, still flies its flag high in the Western world.

It was historically logical that the democratic idea of autonomous organization, which achieved—Continued on page 4.

TAR HEEL TOPICS

Published eight times a year (April, May, June, July, August, September, December, and March) by the University of North Carolina, to convey information about the University to prospective students, students, and their parents.

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Universityism

All advertising, sentiment, and blah aside, really how much of a university is the University of North Carolina? What makes a university great? Is it a matter of enrollment, plant, endowment, football victories, or recognition by accrediting agencies?

President Hutchins, of Chicago University, has recently told the world through the columns of the *Saturday Evening Post* that the University of North Carolina is easily one of the foremost in America. His statement waives the items mentioned above and bases the rating exclusively on the untrammelled freedom of thought protected and encouraged on this campus by trustee and presidential policy.

For decades various pressure groups have sought to restrict inquiry and discussion among faculty and students. Threats to punish the institution have successively been based on charges of "federalism," "republicanism," "atheism," "modernism," "communism," etc. Individuals and groups, waving the American flag, have repudiated the educational philosophy of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Lee, and Wilson, and sought to make this University a tool of indoctrination of special and temporary viewpoints.

Thanks to heroic administration, trusting trustees, and a tolerant, liberal State, this University is recognizably great; a bulwark of democracy in a storm of isms.

President Graham's statement reproduced here is in the apostolic succession of the insight, faith and courage which are worth more than all other sources of reputation combined.

Text of President Graham's Address

(Continued from page 3)

victories in the fields of religion and politics, should become an issue in the fields of commerce and industry. The commercial and industrial revolutions created successively the commercial and industrial middle classes, which, through autonomous corporations, soon established their dominant positions in modern society. The English parliament having become a stronghold of the commercial and industrial leaders, prohibited working men from organizing in behalf of better conditions of life and labor. The struggle of industrial workers to organize and win the reluctant recognition of legislative bodies, the courts, and the corporations, is the latest chapter in the democratic struggle of human beings for autonomous organization around a great human need. The movement of working people against heavy odds to win a simple share in the control of their own lives is one of the great human movements of the last hundred years and is at the center of the struggle for freedom and democracy in our time.

Capitalistic Flow

The main barriers in the way of free organization of people and the equality of bargaining power, and social legislation, have been the theory of economic individualism, the many valuable achievements and the prestige of unhampered industrial leaders, and the power of the modern corporation.

The representatives of great corporate enterprises can recall with sincere and historic pride that capitalism was a decisive factor in the overthrow of feudalism, in the liberation of the common man, land and labor from the vested control of the feudal lords, and in the liberation of industry and commerce from the monopolies of the decadent guilds. A free capitalism is historically recognized as one of the main pivots

in the transition from the medieval to the modern world. The liberated individuals of the rising capitalist class moved from victory to victory in ideas, church, state, commerce and industry. With initiative, inventive genius, and far flung enterprise they developed industry on a scale which required gigantic corporations for gigantic national and international trade. These corporations gathered the savings of people anywhere to meet the wants of people everywhere. Geared to vast reservoirs of capital and to steam, electric, and gas-power engines, they have thrown around the earth a mechanical framework, which, with all its economic strains and social failures, still holds up the structure of the modern but threatened world.

This historic achievement provides part of the basis of a staunch devotion to the principles of economic individualism. Re-enforcing the witness of history is the economic theory which, for more than a century, has held that individuals, in seeking their own private profits in a free competitive society, achieve total results, which, in the long run, best serve the public welfare. The mechanistic conceptions of the universe, reinforced by a largely mechanical civilization, entered into the preconceptions of a mechanically self-balancing economic system of natural and immutable laws. Added to the sanctions of generations of accepted practices was the mighty sanction of science in the Darwinian theory based on the struggle for existence, nature's laws of the jungle, and the resulting values of the survival of the fittest. The results are spread over the world today, beneficent and cruel, magnificent and ugly, resourceful and despairing.

Democratic Dynamics

Democracy cannot, without decay, stop in either the pride of historic achievement or in the despair of wide human miseries. History would also remind us

that, along with the struggle for freedom, and in fact basic to the content and necessary to the endurance of freedom, is the long struggle for democracy.

Those who identify the basic liberties of the Bill of Rights with the privilege and power of economic tyrannies should recall that the theory of the natural rights of man arose to challenge the theory of the divine right of kings. We all need to remind ourselves that the American Declaration of Independence declared not only for the inalienable rights of the individual but also for the consent of the governed and not only that men are "created free" but also that men are "created equal." We should join to the historic warning of another generation that "this nation cannot endure half slave and half free"; the prophetic call to our generation that this democracy cannot endure with one third or more than forty millions of the people "ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed."

Education's Flight

Re-emphasizing these cruel figures of economic injustice are the staggering figures of educational inequality. Of the 45 million people without local access to public libraries in the nation 39 1/2 millions live in rural areas. The farm people in the United States in 1930 received nine per cent of the national income and yet supported and educated 31 per cent of the nation's children. The non-farm people in one section of the country were twenty-one times more able to educate their children than the farm people of another section of the country. In three states less than \$30.00 per child was invested in public education, while in three other states more than \$120.00 per child was spent.

In the rural states with the least economic ability the people pay the highest tax rate for the education of their children, the lowest placed in the nation. Over half of the American states are rural states in which the American population is largely renewed, and in which there is the largest proportion of children and the least proportion of wealth. A large proportion of children who in their non-productive years are supported and educated by rural people become in their creative years the producers in the vital industries and the very backbone of urban communities. Just as within the states the children in the rural localities can have a fairer educational opportunity only through state aid to the localities so the children in the rural states can have a more equal educational opportunity only through Federal aid to the states, with, we may add, Federal guarantees of state control in behalf of both freedom and equality of opportunity of the children in all the states and in recognition of the fact that in our Federal republic children are to become citizens of the State and of the United States.

About Equality

It is one of the ironies of the history of liberty that the shibboleths which come flaming from the souls of the prophets of democracy in behalf of the freedom of forgotten men in another century should be hardened and turned against the larger liberties of forgotten millions of our time. Those who identify the conceptions of equality with a conception contradicted by biology, psychology, and common sense, and see liberty and progress submerged in the dead level of the uniformity and mediocrity of a misconceived equalitarianism, should remember that the equality of the American dream is the companion, not the foe, of freedom. It is clear to all that human beings are not equal in physical, mental, and spiritual qualities and abilities. No theory or law can

make them so. But they are all human beings, are all members of the same great human family, and are all sons of God.

In this basic conception of both democracy and religion all human beings are equal. It is not in the American tradition that all people are identical or have the right to achieve an impossible and paralyzing uniformity. It is, however, in the American dream, that, by a wide educational provision for the free development of individual differences and aptitudes, all should have a more equal opportunity to make the most of their whole and highest personalities and have a part, to the limit of their capacities, in the work and life of their community and generation. The higher the individuals climb the higher democracy climbs. The denial of this equality of opportunity is a denial of freedom to millions of individuals to develop their individual differences and their social capacities, with consequent losses to the whole personality of each individual and with immeasurable losses to the economic, social, and spiritual progress of all mankind.

Machines and Education

Those who would hold the conceptions of freedom and democracy static and fixed in the mold of another age disregard the great changes in the structure of society, their human implications and the adaptations necessary to preserve freedom and democracy in the dynamic society of the modern world. Machine technology has taken from workers the sense of individual freedom, self-reliance, and creative workmanship. The big corporation, along with its many social values, eliminated many of the areas of competitive freedom, and submerged the liberty and initiative of countless little business men. The Western frontier, which once made economic individualism the actual basis of equality of economic opportunity, has been closed forever upon what, for more than a hundred years, was an ever-moving and ever-fresh source for the renewal of both freedom and democracy in America. With much of the historic ground shifting from under both freedom and democracy in America, it is well that the old democratic hopes of the frontier now closed are compensated for by the new democratic hopes of the open schools. It is with an American faith common to both that, in this time of crisis for human liberty, we turn to education and democracy.

Challenge of Democracy

The challenge of education and democracy is more and higher democracy in education, and freer, nobler, and continuous education for democracy. Democracy cannot be fixed in the mold of the past, must not be confined to political democracy, must not tolerate mobocracy and cannot long be identified with plutocracy. Democratic education does not mistake propaganda for information. Education for democracy is not indoctrination, but is a free participation of all in the creative experiences of learning and living. Democracy is not regimentation by private corporate or public political bureaucracies, but social control by the people in behalf of the freedom and equal opportunities of all people. It is more than an end, it is a process; it is more than majority vote, it is a way of life. Our democracy should be the free spirit of a self-governing people in the control of the sources of their common life toward the fulfillment of the American dream.

American democracy would preserve the precious liberties of worship, assembly, speech, the press, suffrage, and lawful process for person and property, regardless of creed, race, color or economic position and would enlarge the historic bill of rights to in-

clude, as basic to all: Provision for more equal educational opportunity of all the children in all the states, provisions for farmers as equal partners in our now lopsided economic society, for equality of bargaining power through the organization of workers, the cooperation of farmers, and the information of consumers, for the right to work and decent terms and conditions of the working life, for higher levels of social security to lift the levels of human liberty, for American participation in international cooperation for peace and security against the hazards of an unorganized world community in which wars and depressions anywhere involve people everywhere, for intelligent production as a way of abundance and decent consumption as a way of life, and for a more abundant distribution of the good life for all people in the eternal adventure toward the Kingdom of God to which this university would dedicate both freedom and democracy.

The University's Stand

In this critical hour for human freedom, instead of a dictatorship away from democracy and instead of a dictatorship toward democracy, this university would sound its timely challenge to religion, to education, to freedom and to democracy. As the peoples of the world may, above the wreck and ruin of war, yet turn to these, may we as students and citizens, turn for guidance to the Greatest Teacher and the Supreme Democrat, whose teachings and life became the foundations of freedom and democracy in the modern world.

A dictatorship in behalf of those who do the work of the world may provide bread, may harness great physical resources to satisfy the hunger and senses of men, but we hear Him say: "Man cannot live by bread alone." A dictatorship, in behalf of a cruel racial bigotry may crucify a great race and a fundamental religion, and by a dazzling leap from the highest pinnacle of Central European power annex a nation and destroy a democracy for a time, but the slower processes of freedom and democracy and the revelations of the inner spirit of common men are more enduring than any exhibition of totalitarian power.

End of Strife

Our Western democracies, unchristian and undemocratic in their grasping might, may pyramid economic power to intercontinental heights above a prostrate world and yet without spiritual insight and social intelligence, be helpless to prevent either world wars with their murder of millions or world depressions which take work and bread from millions of homes in which children, plastic to their influences, look into the faces of defeated men. In the midst of such a world we turn in humility and need to the ways and hopes of freedom and democracy and the little tried guidance of Him who joined teaching and life, and said: "Know the truth and the truth shall make you free"; "I am come that you might have life and have it more abundantly"; and "Suffer the children to come unto me and forbid them not, for such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

Upon the teachings of the Master Teacher, upon the ways of freedom and democracy, for their own sake and as alternative to the ways of the totalitarian dictatorships in this time of crisis for the humane hopes of all mankind, we take our stand as teachers and students intent upon our studies and work of preparation, groping forward together in a stricken world in need of the best that youth has to give toward the American dream and the Kingdom of God.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **WASHINGTON, D. C.**

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FILE NO. 101-24

REPORT MADE AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.	DATE WHEN MADE 1-20-43	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 1/1-9/43	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 5px 0;"></div> CSD:OC
TITLE DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM National War Labor Board			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - HATCH ACT
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 60%;"> SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Background and personal history of Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM set forth. Investigation conducted relative to alleged membership of Dr. GRAHAM in American Youth Congress, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and Communist Party, as well as to determine if Dr. GRAHAM instructed in Communism at school conducted Little Switzerland, N.C., summer of 1936. Little information developed to link Dr. GRAHAM to A.Y.C., N.F.C.L., C.P.U.S.A.; and investigation tends to disprove charge that Dr. GRAHAM instructed in Communism at school near Little Switzerland, N.C., during summer of 1936. </div> <div style="width: 35%; font-size: small;"> AGENCY <u> </u> REQ. REC'D <u>12-2-42</u> REF'T FORW. <u>22</u> BY <u> </u> </div> </div>			
<div style="display: flex;"> <div style="width: 15%; font-weight: bold;"> SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION </div> <div style="width: 85%;"> <p style="text-align: center;">-RUC-</p> <p>REFERENCE: (Bureau file 100-23300). Bureau letter dated December 23, 1942.</p> <p>DETAILS: <u>PERSONAL HISTORY</u></p> <p>FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, on October 14, 1886. His boyhood was spent in Charlotte, North Carolina, where he graduated from Central High School. In 1909, Dr. GRAHAM received an A.B. degree at the University of North Carolina, along with the highest scholastic honors. Dr. GRAHAM continued his studies at North Carolina and obtained a degree in law, following which he was employed for several years at the Raleigh High School, Raleigh, North Carolina, as an instructor in English. Dr. GRAHAM left Raleigh, North Carolina, and went to New York City, where he obtained an M.A. degree in History at Columbia University, devoting his studies to Carl Schurz and the Liberal Republican Movement of the 1870's. In 1915 Dr. GRAHAM returned to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where he was</p> </div> </div>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin-top: 5px;"></div> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <div style="text-align: center; font-size: large; font-weight: bold;"> 23300-9 </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; font-size: small;"> ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/4/00 BY SP-6 DMF </div>	
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DR. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM
NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

Report of Special Agent
[redacted] dated
January 20, 1943 at
Charlotte, North Carolina

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DETAILS:

PERSONAL HISTORY

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, on October 14, 1886. His boyhood was spent in Charlotte, North Carolina, where he graduated from Central High School. In 1909, Dr. GRAHAM received an A.B. degree at the University of North Carolina, along with the highest scholastic honors. Dr. GRAHAM continued his studies at North Carolina and obtained a degree in law, following which he was employed for several years at the Raleigh High School, Raleigh, North Carolina, as an instructor in English. Dr. GRAHAM left Raleigh, North Carolina, and went to New York City, where he obtained an M.A. degree in History at Columbia University, devoting his studies to Carl Schurz and the Liberal Republican Movement of the 1870's. In 1915 Dr. GRAHAM returned to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where he was

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employed as student secretary of the YMCA. Shortly before America's entrance into World War I, Dr. GRAHAM was appointed professor of History at the University of North Carolina. In June of 1918 he left the University and enlisted in the Marine Corps, where he served approximately two years, emerging as a first lieutenant.

Following the war, Dr. GRAHAM returned to the University of North Carolina and resumed instructing in History. He continued to serve in this capacity until 1930 when he was elected the eleventh president of the University of North Carolina. During the decade from 1920 until 1930 Dr. GRAHAM did graduate work at the universities of Chicago, London, and Paris. He has been the recipient of numerous honorary degrees from various universities.

Along with his work as an educator, Dr. GRAHAM has been active in national affairs, particularly during recent years. Since becoming president of the University of North Carolina, he has served on the following bodies of national importance: Vice-chairman of the National Consumers Advisory Board; Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Social Security; member of the National Emergency Council; and at the present time he is serving as a representative of the public on the National War Labor Board.

BASIS OF INVESTIGATION

On various dates and from different sources, information has been received charging that Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM is, or has been, affiliated with the American Youth Congress, the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, and the Communist Party.

According to Who's Who for 1942, Dr. GRAHAM is presently serving on the National War Labor Board as representative of the general public.

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

A. American Youth Congress

Informant stated that during 1940 Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was listed as a sponsor of a national photographic contest jointly conducted by the American Youth Congress and Friday Magazine.

Informant stated he had never heard of Dr. GRAHAM being affiliated with the American Youth Congress. Similar information was obtained from Informant

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B. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

Informant [] advised that the name of FRANK PORTER GRAHAM appeared in the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. [] further advised that the names appearing in this list probably represented names of persons known to be favorable to social legislation and that the list did not purport to be a membership roster of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Informants [] and [] were unable to furnish any information to indicate that Dr. GRAHAM was affiliated at any time with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

C. Communist Party

Informant [] advised that on July 23, 1931, Dr. GRAHAM in a speech before the North Carolina Press Association at Morehead City, North Carolina, made the following statement, illustrative of his attitude toward Russian Communism:

"Dictatorships encroach upon the ideas and processes of democracies all over the world, whether Fascism in Italy, Bolshevism in Russia, the war lords in China, or the special interests in the United States. The private interests would cut down on the equal opportunities of the people."

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According to Informant [], President GRAHAM made the following statement concerning the possibilities of a proletariat dictatorship in the United States, while addressing the Williamstown Institute of Human Relations at Williamstown, Massachusetts, on August 28, 1935:

"This country is unsuited to a political dictatorship of either the Communist or Fascist form Both the British and American tradition, even in the present political climate of emergency, make a poor environment for a political dictatorship."

Informant [] said that after concluding that the farmers and industrial workers have sufficient power to block a Fascist movement in the United States, Dr. GRAHAM continued by saying:

"For a Communist dictatorship there appears less chance, even with a change in the traditional attitude of the American workers. The farmers and the urban middle class overwhelmingly outweigh the proletariat, who are apt to recede in power before technological advances."

Informant [] advised that when Dr. GRAHAM addressed the 15th convention of the YMCA at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, he deplored the fact that the Russian Government had sought to destroy religion among the Russian people. [] advised that Dr. GRAHAM described the Soviet regime as one of "atheistic materialism."

Informant [] advised that during the summer of 1935 FRANK GRAHAM "sponsored the summer school of Moscow University which was for the purpose of having American young men and young women go to Russia and sit at the feet of Soviet instructors." Informant [] said that in spite of Dr. GRAHAM's efforts, the proposed summer school never materialized, and no American students attended classes at the Moscow University.

According to Informant [] Dr. GRAHAM, working under the Institute of International Education, Inc., an adjunct of the Rockefeller Foundation, sought to get the Russian Government to institute summer sessions which could be attended by American students. [] further advised that this was a part of a larger project seeking to get similar courses begun in the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, and Berlin.

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Informant [] advised that in the spring of 1940 before an alumni group of the University of North Carolina, Dr. GRAHAM was questioned in detail about Communism and Communists in the University of North Carolina. [] furnished the following transcript of the questions and answers:

- Q. Are there courses of study in the University which deal with Fascism, Nazism, and Communism; and if so, could you tell us why and something about the principles which govern the handling of these courses?
- A. Yes. The Dean of the School of Commerce, Dr. D. D. CARROLL, gives a course called "Theories of Economic Reform" in which all of the above theories of government are considered, along with individualism and capitalism. It is simply the University being true to itself in trying to keep its doors and windows open so that the students may understand the world into which they are to go and to do their day's work. It is not true that because the University makes it possible for the students to study these movements and issues that the University is a part of the movement or advocates the movement We would cease to be a modern university if we closed our classrooms and laboratories to the liveliest things going on in our times.

Q. Do the teachers who conduct these courses attempt to advocate any of the basic and distinctive ideas of these political philosophies and systems of government?

A. They do not, so far as I know, and I have asked that question and have been told no.

Q. Are there any Communists in the University faculty?

A. No. At least I have asked people to bring up one as a matter of information.

Q. Are there any Communists, Fascists, or Nazis among the students?

A. I couldn't say about that absolutely. I have asked the students, not by way of inquisition but by way of information, because I consider that there are some here, and the students say . . . 3 or 4. To be safe I would multiply this by two -- so you might say a dozen more or less. If this were so, we would give them the protection of the American Bill of Rights so long as they obey the law, were desirable citizens, and did their work.

According to Informant [redacted], Dr. GRAHAM has opposed the poll tax system existing in the South. [redacted] stated that Dr. GRAHAM, as chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, has actively sought to break down the poll tax system.

Informant [redacted] said that Dr. GRAHAM at one time endorsed a proposal made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to General GEORGE C. MARSHALL that volunteer regiments of colored and white men be encouraged.

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Informant [redacted] advised that Dr. GRAHAM advocated United States aid to Spain during the Spanish Civil War, and that he signed his name to a petition to the President requesting that the arms embargo be lifted as to Loyalist Spain.

Informant [redacted] said that Dr. GRAHAM was Southern Chairman for the Committee to Defend America By Aiding the Allies and that in such capacity he urged intervention and all-out aid to England as early as the spring of 1940. In the June 1941 issue of "The Bulletin" published by BART HUNTER LOGAN, Secretary for the 16th District of the Communist Party, there is published an article on Dr. GRAHAM. In this article Dr. GRAHAM is described as a "phoney friend of labor" and as an ex-Progressive who is "extremely useful for Wall Street's war drive."

Informant [] in reply to the question, "Do you believe that Dr. GRAHAM is or ever has been a member of the Communist Party?" stated, "In my opinion FRANK GRAHAM never has been a member of the Communist Party, but I believe that he is radical and particularly dangerous because he tolerates Communists to infiltrate the University of North Carolina."

Informant [] advised that during the summer of 1936 Dr. GRAHAM spent three weeks at a school located in Little Switzerland, North Carolina, instructing in Communism. According to [] the students at this school each day closed the sessions by singing the "Internationale."

Informant [] stated positively that there has never been any camp or school operating during the summer or winter at Little Switzerland, North Carolina. Informant [] advised that beyond the home of Judge ROY CLARKSON, deceased Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, there was nothing in the way of suitable facilities for a school at Little Switzerland, North Carolina. [] stated that at one time he made inquiries into the possibility of using Little Switzerland as a location for a summer camp, but that lack of proper facilities made such a project impossible. [] further advised that Judge CLARKSON was one of the very close friends of Dr. FRANK GRAHAM. He said that whenever Dr. GRAHAM was anywhere in the neighborhood of Little Switzerland he would always go out of his way to call on Judge CLARKSON, and that whenever he remained in the area for any length of time he stayed at the home of Judge CLARKSON.

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From Informant [] it was ascertained that Dr. GRAHAM was at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, during the latter part of June and again during the early part of July of 1936. [] was unable to furnish further information which would indicate that Dr. GRAHAM was in Western Carolina during any other periods of the summer of 1936.

It was ascertained from Informant [] that Blue Ridge, North Carolina, is the name given to the summer conference grounds of the ten states forming the Southeastern Division of the YMCA. [] said that each summer the various Southeastern YMCA's sent representatives to this summer session, and that meetings were held in the buildings of Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina. [] advised that the Blue Ridge YMCA summer camp was considerably older than Black Mountain College, and that during the depression the YMCA rented some of its facilities to this college, but that beyond this there was no connection between Blue Ridge and Black Mountain College.

Informant [] furnished records which indicated that during the period of June 11 to 20, 1936, the Southeastern YMCA Students Division sent representatives to Blue Ridge, North Carolina. These records further indi-

cated that Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM appeared before this group at some time during the 10-day period and according to [] "spoke on some theme of labor and management." [] advised that early in July representatives of the Industrial Division of the Southeastern YMCA's met at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, and that Dr. GRAHAM again appeared and delivered a platform address. [] said that Black Mountain is approximately 50 miles from Little Switzerland.

It was ascertained from Informant [] that during roughly the same period the Textile Bulletin, an established critic of Dr. GRAHAM's activities, published an editorial charging that FRANK GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, met secretly with a group of agitators at Burnsville, North Carolina (approximately 10 miles from Little Switzerland, North Carolina). [] stated that this editorial intimated that President GRAHAM was secretly active in the affairs of the Communist Party. [] further stated that a subsequent issue of the Textile Bulletin carried a retraction of the original editorial and stated that while a FRANK GRAHAM did attend the reported meeting he was a labor agitator from Massachusetts, and not the President of the University of North Carolina. A review of the files of the Textile Bulletin indicated that the editorial referred to by [] was printed in the issue of August 29, 1929, and referred to a meeting held on August 3, 1929.

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In view of the information obtained from Informant [] to the effect that Camp Larry Hogan is located in the same vicinity as Little Switzerland, North Carolina, and is a camp of the type where Communism might be taught and the Internationale sung, it was deemed advisable to contact []

[] Street, Charlotte, North Carolina, [] who was available for questioning. She advised that beyond the regular groups of counselors, no outsiders appeared to instruct at Camp Larry Hogan during the summer of 1936 for even a short period, much less a period of three weeks. [] further advised that on the first Sunday of July the students at Camp Larry and those of the Summer School for Workers met at the Asheville Normal School, Asheville, North Carolina, for one day and that an outsider did speak to them at this time. She said that she was unable to recall the name of the speaker or his theme. The files of Informant [] were examined and it was determined that these files contained no information to indicate that Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was in the area at the time described.

Mrs. [] and Mrs. [], who [] Camp Larry, stated that to the best of their recollection no outsiders appeared to lecture at Camp Larry during the summer of 1936. Both women advised that they were well acquainted with the camp, its students, and instructors. An examination was made of the files maintained by Informant [] with negative results.

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Likewise, the files of Informant [] were examined for the period of the summer of 1936 and nothing was ascertained to indicate that Dr. FRANK GRAHAM appeared for the purpose of making a speech or instructing anywhere in McDowell County during the summer of 1936.

ENCLOSURES -- To the Bureau:

- (1) Pamphlet issued by Intourist, Inc., relative to the 1935 session of Moscow University.
- (2) Copy of the June 1941 issued of the "Bulletin" issued by BART HUNTER LOGAN, Secretary for the Communist Party, District 16.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

IDENTITY OF INFORMANTS

Informant	[redacted] This information was submitted to the Charlotte Field Division, via the Bureau, by the Philadelphia Field Division on November 23, 1936.
Informant	Page 40 of a report entitled "AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS" by Special Agent [redacted] dated February 25, 1941, Chicago, Illinois.
Informant	[redacted] [redacted] North Carolina, and a [redacted] of Dr. GRAHAM.
Informant	[redacted], North Carolina.
Informant	Page 59 of the report entitled "National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" Special Agent T. W. DAWSEY, dated March 10, 1941, at Washington, D. C.
Informant	"The Deficit, the Debt, the Depression, and the Stakes of the People," North Carolina Room, University of North Carolina Library.
Informant	"Can Democracy Survive in the Modern World?" North Carolina Alumni Review, November 1935.
Informant	"15th National YMCA Convention," North Carolina Room, University of North Carolina Library.
Informant	[redacted] writing in the Raleigh <u>News and Observer</u> of April 27, 1941.
Informant	"Lenoir Chambers' Questions - - - And Dr. Frank Graham's Answers," North Carolina Alumni Review, June, 1940.
Informant	"The Poll Tax," published in 1940 by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, University of North Carolina Library.
Informant	University of North Carolina <u>Daily Tar Heel</u> , June 22, 1942.
Informant	Report of Special Agent ROSWELL E. SMITH, dated December 18, 1936, at Charlotte, North Carolina, in the case entitled, "Larry Hogan Camp, Old Fort, North Carolina."

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Informant ☐ : "Neighborhood Notes" in the Chapel Hill Weekly for the summer of 1936, issue of June 26, 1936, and July 10, 1936, cited.

Informant ☐ : The Asheville Times and the Asheville Citizen for the summer of 1936.

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Informant ☐ : The files of Camp Larry Hogan maintained in the mess hall of the camp.

Informant ☐ : The Marion Progress for the summer of 1936.

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ENCLOSURE

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MOSCOW STATE
UNIVERSITY

Summer Session

(Anglo-American Section)

1935

July 16—August 25

MOSCOW
U. S. S. R.

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DATE 5/10/2001 BY SP6 Pm/mc

American Representative

INTOURIST, INC.
Educational Department
545 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ENCLOSURE

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY
SUMMER SESSION
(Anglo-American Section)

American Advisory Organization:

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INC.

Advisors: GEORGE S. COUNTS and HEBER HARPER

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

W. W. CHARTERS, Director, Bureau of Educational Research,
Ohio State University.
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JOHN DEWEY, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Columbia
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FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.
ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, President, University of Chicago.
CHARLES H. JUDD, Dean, School of Education, University of
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I. L. KANDEL, Professor of Education, Teachers College,
Columbia University.
ROBERT L. KELLY, Secretary, Association of American Colleges.
JOHN A. KINGSBURY, Secretary, Milbank Memorial Fund.
SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, Professor of Social Economy and Social
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School of Public Welfare, University of North Carolina.
WILLIAM F. RUSSELL, Dean, Teachers College, Columbia
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H. W. TYLER, General Secretary, American Association of
University Professors.
ERNEST H. WILKINS, President, Oberlin College.
JOHN W. WITHERS, Dean, School of Education, New York
University.
THOMAS WOODY, Professor of History of Education, University
of Pennsylvania.
HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH, Director, Clinic for the Social Adjust-
ment of Gifted Children, New York University.

The tremendous progress of the Soviet Union in the cultural field creates for Americans an unequalled observation ground for education, psychology and the social sciences. The Soviet Union presents a unique opportunity for the study of the processes of cultural change. The first and second Five Year Plans, by creating the foundations of a planned national economy, have brought about a complete reconstruction in the social attitudes and behavior of the Russian people.

From a backward and illiterate country, the U. S. S. R. has been transformed into a modern industrial nation. Illiteracy has been almost abolished. The Soviet Union possesses the most progressive system of public education, extensively making use of the best achievements of international pedagogy. Soviet policy in social welfare, the care of mothers and children, the re-education and re-direction of lawless elements, and in other fields, presents a provocative challenge to students on all levels.

PURPOSE

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY SUMMER SESSION conducts an ANGLO-AMERICAN SECTION, open to all academically qualified foreigners who are interested in the cultural and educational aspects of life in the Soviet Union. Instruction is in the English language, by an all-Soviet faculty of professors and specialists. The State University of Moscow certifies academic credit to those foreign students meeting the requirements of the university and completing a course of study in its Anglo-American Section. The Director of the Moscow University Summer Session is a Soviet educator. The Summer Session is officially an organizational part of the Moscow State University.

In order to insure close cooperation with American educational institutions, and with students and educators in the United States, an advisory relationship was established in 1933 with the Institute of International Education. At the same time, a National Advisory Council of prominent American educators was formed by Prof. Stephen Duggan to assist the Institute of International Education in its advisory capacity. To facilitate still closer rapprochement, each year several American educators are invited to Moscow as resident advisors to the Summer Session. Dr. George S. Counts and Dr. Heber Harper, Professors of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University, will act as advisors during the summer session of 1935.

The Moscow University Summer Session is sponsored in the Soviet Union by the Peoples' Commissariat of Education of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic; by VOKS, the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; and by INTOURIST, the State Travel Company of the U. S. R. R. Intourist, through its Educational Department, will supply information to persons interested.

Moscow University will offer, in its Anglo-American Section, during the summer of 1935, a variety of courses to serve as a means of furthering cultural contacts between American and Russian teachers and students. The Summer Session functions with the purpose of providing foreign visitors to the Soviet Union with the academic facilities and programs necessary for serious study and research. However, the purpose of the Summer Session is primarily that of assisting foreigners in a survey and understanding of the various phases of contemporary life in the Soviet Union.

ORIGIN

The Summer Session originated as the result of an experiment conducted during the summer of 1933 by a group of American educators. The "*American Summer School in Russia*" was organized in 1933 to offer two courses dealing with "Experimental Educational Programs of the Soviet Union" and "Institutional Changes in the Soviet Union." These two courses were conducted in Moscow in an experimental fashion with a group of twenty-five teachers and students of education.

At the second Summer Session in 1934, thirteen courses were offered in five major fields of art and literature, sociology, psychology, education and research. The staff was composed of twenty-two professors and academic assistants. Two hundred and twelve students attended the 1934 session. Among them were undergraduates, teachers, principals, professors, psychologists, social workers, physicians, nurses and artists.

Basing their judgment upon the undeniable success of these ventures, the Soviet educational authorities organized at the University of Moscow, an Anglo-American Section offering full and regular summer instruction in English. The students and professors of the 1933 and 1934 sessions approved the academic advantages of the plan, which enabled the student to travel during his vacation period and at the same time to further his own professional experience. It is a plan that has the full support of the foremost educators and scientists of the Soviet Union.

The directors of the summer school discovered that while American educators displayed great interest in Soviet education, it was evident that outside of the Soviet Union there existed no profound knowledge of actual conditions in the Soviet school world. These considerations, coupled with the ever present Russian eagerness for close cultural contact with Americans, are the primary reasons for the continuation of the plan.

THE PLAN OF THE SUMMER SESSION

Moscow University Summer Session offers the student an opportunity to combine summer vacation with study and European travel at very economical rates. Special rates for maintenance in the Soviet Union are available only to students, teachers or social workers who attend the Summer Session.

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ACADEMIC PROGRAM

The Anglo-American Section of the Moscow University Summer Session offers a wide choice of subjects and courses. The courses offered during the 1935 session, which begins on July 19th in Moscow, are listed below under special group headings.

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ART AND LITERATURE

*Arts in the
U. S. S. R.*

30 Hours
2 Semester Units

(Requires minimum of thirty additional hours observation and field work. Open to all students.)

A discussion of contemporary painting, sculpture, architecture, music, theatre and the dance in the Soviet Union. The course will offer the student a concept of the relation of art to the building of the new Soviet society. Topics to be discussed will include the features of socialist realism in art; the social status of artists; the economic organization enabling creative work; and the role of the arts in the program of popular education.

Observation and field work will be scheduled in galleries, studios, theatres for children and adults, research institutes, club houses for artists and other institutions for the development of art activities.

*Literatures of Russia and
the Soviet Union*

30 Hours
2 Semester Units

(Requires a minimum of thirty additional hours of library work. Open to all students.)

The course will present a brief survey of pre-revolutionary Russian literature and the effects of the old writers upon the new. There will be included a description of the historical stages of Soviet literature; the present school of socialist realism; the work and influence of such writers as Gorki and others; the themes of contemporary Soviet literature; and the social role of the Soviet writer in the program for the building of socialism.

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INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AND SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF SOVIET SOCIETY

*Principles of the Collective
and Socialist Society*

30 Hours
2 Semester Units

(This course, or its equivalent, prerequisite for all students. Students may request exemption when registering.)

An elementary course, presenting and describing the basic ideas and institutions of Soviet society. Beginning with a brief historical account, the course will present in simple terms the theory and practice of socialist construction. Among the topics included in the course are: the theories underlying the Soviet State; the organization of the government and the Soviet economy; the program of educational and cultural advance; the relation of the individual to the family and to other social groups; the question of the village and the collectivization of agriculture; and the solution of the problem of national minorities. The course is intended as a general survey of Soviet life.

*Justice and the Correctional
Policy of the S. U.*

30 Hours
2 Semester Units

(Requires 15 additional hours of observation. Open to all students.)

The course will describe the Soviet system of jurisprudence and the administration of justice. There will be a review of the major theories of criminology as well as the Marxian point of view towards the problem of crime. It will then specifically deal with crime and its eradication in the Soviet Union. Programs for the education of delinquents (children and adolescents) and for the reclamation of criminals will be presented. In connection with this course, there will be visits of observation to the various institutions concerned with this problem.

*Organization of Public Health
and Socialized Medicine*

30 Hours
2 Semester Units

(Requires a minimum of fifteen additional hours of observation and field work. Open to all students. Recommended to social workers, physicians and health education specialists.)

The course presents a study of the organization of health and medical services in the U. S. S. R. There will be a description of the organization and programs of hospitals, clinics, rest homes, sanatoria and dispensaries in their relationships to factories and farms; medical research and the work of experimental institutes; training of medical workers; care of women and children in factories, schools and on farms; social psychiatry and mental hygiene; physical education and programs for disease prevention; and the organization of professional medicine as a state function.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

*Survey of Education in
the U. S. S. R.*

60 Hours
4 Semester Units

(Requires a minimum of thirty additional hours of library, observation and field work. Open to teachers and students of education.)

This course will describe the philosophy, curricula and methods of the following divisions of Soviet education:

A—*The Unified Polytechnical School and Its Pre-school Foundations:* The polytechnical school includes elementary and secondary education. The course will begin with an examination of Soviet pre-school institutions.

B—*Vocational and Higher Education:* The course will present the Soviet program for the training of workers of all grades and in all fields; it will include a description of such institutions as factory and mill schools, workers' schools (rabfacs), technicums, higher technical schools, pedagogical institutes, medical schools, institutes of Soviet law, art universities, Communist universities and universities proper. Subjects of special interest will be the composition of the student body, the system of maintenance stipends for students, the problems of control and administration, and the relation of vocational and professional education to the planned economy.

C—*Extra School and Adult Education Agencies:* The course will deal with those educational agencies which reach children as well as adults—libraries, reading rooms, evening and correspondence courses, the press, book stores, clubs, museums, galleries, travel and excursions, radio, post and telegraph, cinema and theatre, the activities of popular societies, etc.

*Science and Technic in
the U. S. S. R.*

60 Hours
4 Semester Units

(Requires 15 additional hours of library work. Open to all students.)

The course will study the relation of social planning to scientific research in the Soviet Union. The course will include a description of the early types of planning under military Communism; the plan formulated by Lenin for the electrification of the country; the development of the State Planning Commission from its founding in 1921; the structure and function of the system of planning organizations, and the actual methods utilized in the preparation and execution of the first and second five-year plans. The student will be given an outline of the Marxian view of the role of science in socialist society, and an account of the coordinated development of the Soviet network of scientific research institutes. Soviet development in the fields of social and physical sciences will be studied. The course will conclude with a summary of the present status of planning and science in the Soviet Union.

*Survey of Psychological
Research*

30 Hours
2 Semester Units

(Requires minimum of fifteen additional hours of library, laboratory or observation work. Registration open only to advanced students of psychology.)

This course presents an advanced discussion of the technical and specialized phases of experimental psychology in the Soviet Union. Such topics as the following will be considered: the status of psychology in Russia prior to the Revolution of 1917; the theories of reflexology and conditioning (Pavlov and Bechterov); trends in contemporary psychological research in the U. S. S. R.; Soviet advance in applied psychology and psychotechnics; psychology and industrial rationalization; and the relation of Marxism-Leninism to psychology.

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HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND PHILOSOPHY

*History of the
Soviet Union*

60 Hours
4 Semester Units

(Requires a minimum of thirty additional hours of library work. Open to all students.)

This course opens with a study of pre-revolutionary Russian history. The course will continue with a study of the forces underlying the Czarist policy at home and abroad; the social and economic life of the people under the old regime; the early mass uprisings, strikes and revolutions; the development of capitalism and industry; the distribution of land and property; the revolutionary movement prior to 1905; the 1905 revolution; the World War and the collapse of the old order; the February and October revolutions; the period of military Communism, civil war and NEP; the reconstruction era; the first and second five-year plans.

*Economic Policy and Geography
of the U. S. S. R.*

60 Hours
4 Semester Units

(Requires thirty additional hours of library, observation and field work. Open to all students.)

The course will discuss the general economic development of the U. S. S. R. by presenting an historical account of the building of socialism in relation to the geographic factors. Topics included in the course are: The period of a military Communism in the first years of the revolution; the new economic policy inaugurated in 1921, and the program of planned construction launched by the first five-year plan in 1928. The course will also touch upon the problems of foreign and domestic trade, wages, housing, social benefits, taxation, Soviet monetary system, etc.

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*Philosophy of Dialectical
Materialism*

30 Hours
2 Semester Units

(Requires a minimum of fifteen hours library work. Open only to advanced students having necessary background in history of philosophy.)

This course will present an introduction to the philosophy of dialectical materialism. The works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin will be utilized for the presentation of the basic positions, postulates and doctrines of dialectical materialism. The course will also point out the important applications of the philosophy of dialectical materialism to scientific research both in social and natural sciences.

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LANGUAGE

*Advanced Russian for
Foreigners*

30 Hours
2 Semester Units

(Open to students with elementary knowledge of Russian.)

The course will build a more thorough reading knowledge and a better colloquial use of Russian. The emphasis will be entirely upon the practice of Russian for conversational and research purposes. Oral and written composition will be required. At least one work of contemporary Russian literature will be read and discussed in class.

CALENDAR

- July 16-18 incl. Preliminary sessions in Leningrad.
July 19 Official opening session in Moscow.
Aug. 13 Examinations and final session in Moscow.
Aug. 14-25 incl. Travel field work period.

NOTE: Students may arrive in Leningrad between July 16th and 18th. Those students arriving in Leningrad after July 16, but not later than July 18th, will be granted the privilege of remaining in Kiev for an additional number of days, bringing the total to forty days from date of arrival. Students arriving in Leningrad or Moscow earlier than July 16th will be charged the regular INTOURIST rate of \$5 per day in supplement to the basic summer session rate.

The basic rate for travel and maintenance in the Soviet Union during the period of the summer session is \$176.00. No refunds will be granted students leaving the Soviet Union before the end of the summer session, unless withdrawal is caused by illness or force majeure.

These regulations are stated in order to permit the necessary adjustment caused by varying dates of arrival in the Soviet Union.

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DAILY CLASS SCHEDULE

HOURL	COURSE
9-10	Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism. Survey of Psychological Research. Principles of the Collective and Socialist Society.
10-12	Science and Technic in the U. S. S. R. Survey of Education in the U. S. S. R. History of the Soviet Union. Economic Policy and Geography of the U.S.S.R.
12-1	Arts in the U. S. S. R. Organization of Public Health and Socialized Medicine. Justice and the Correctional Policy of the Soviet Union.
2-3	Literatures of Russia and the Soviet Union. Advanced Russian for Foreigners.

ACADEMIC REGULATIONS

1. Enrollments are accepted for one or more courses, but the total number of class room hours may not exceed ninety (six semester units).
2. The course "Principles of the Collective and Socialist Society" is *prerequisite for admission to all other courses*; however, the student may enroll simultaneously in this and other courses. Students may be exempted from this requirement by presenting evidence of having completed:
 - a—An equivalent course during the Moscow University Summer Sessions of 1933 or 1934.
 - b—An equivalent course in an American school or university.
 - c—The reading of at least three approved references on the subject.
3. Students enrolling in "Survey of Psychological Research" must list at least three previous courses in psychology when filling out the application form.
4. Changes in program may not be made later than one week after the opening of the summer session in Moscow.
5. Moscow University reserves the right to dismiss students for unsatisfactory work or conduct.
6. Students may not attend courses other than those in which they are enrolled; auditors will not be permitted.
7. Students may not enroll in "Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism" without necessary recommendations or prerequisite courses.

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8. All registrations are subject to the approval of the director of Moscow University Summer Session or the American representative of Moscow University.
 9. Academic credit will not be granted to students absent during more than three class sessions.

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TRAVEL PLAN

The unique feature of the summer school plan, offered by the Anglo-American Section of Moscow University is the combination of class room and laboratory study with travel in the Soviet Union. The educational directors of the University are of the opinion that an adequate understanding of the policies and programs of Soviet institutions is to be found not only through academic investigation but also through direct observation of institutions at work. To this end, and in order to permit the visitor to become acquainted with the many aspects of social conditions not only in one locale but throughout the country, each course listed is offered in conjunction with field work tours. These will include the major cities of the Soviet Union, and permit close observation of institutional life.

Academic work at the University of Moscow includes approximately four weeks of resident study and two weeks of supervised travel. The itineraries for the travel period have been set up to meet professional and academic interests. All students enrolled are offered the choice of the following itineraries.

ITINERARY NO. 1

- Aug. 14—Leave Moscow—late afternoon
15—Enroute
16—Arrive Sevastopol—morning
17—To Yalta
18—Yalta
19—Yalta
20—Yalta
21—Yalta; leave Yalta—morning
22—Arrive Odessa—morning; leave evening
23—Arrive Kiev
24—Kiev
25—Leave Kiev—noon, for Shepetovka

▼

ITINERARY NO. 2

- Aug. 14—Leave Moscow—noon
15—Arrive Rostov—evening
16—Rostov
17—Rostov
18—Leave Rostov—afternoon
19—Arrive Sochi—morning
20—Sochi
21—Leave Sochi—evening
22-23—Enroute
24—Arrive Odessa
25—Leave Odessa—evening, for Shepetovka

▼

ITINERARY NO. 3

- Aug. 14—Leave Moscow—late afternoon
15—Arrive Kharkov—noon
16—Kharkov
17—Leave Kharkov—noon; arrive Dnieproges—evening

- 18—Dnieproges—Leave evening
- 19—Arrive Sevastopol—morning; to Yalta
- 20—Yalta
- 21—Leave Yalta—morning
- 22—Arrive Odessa—morning; leave evening
- 23—Arrive Kiev
- 24—Kiev
- 25—Leave Kiev—noon, for Shepetovka

ITINERARY NO. 4

- Aug. 14—Leave Moscow—evening
- 15—Old Rostov
 - 16—Yaroslavl
 - 17—Yaroslavl—leave for Moscow
 - 18—Moscow
 - 19—Leave Moscow—evening
 - 20—Arrive Leningrad—morning; leave afternoon
 - 21—Pskov
 - 22—From Pskov to Staraya Russa and by boat to Old Novgorod
 - 23—Old Novgorod—Leave for Leningrad
 - 24—Arrive Leningrad—morning
 - 25—Leave Leningrad, for Belo Ostrov (or by steamer)

ITINERARY NO. 5

(15 Day Itinerary—Supplementary Cost \$20.00)

- Aug. 14—Leave Moscow—evening
- 15—Arrive Gorki—morning
 - 16—Leave Gorki—noon
 - 17—On the Volga
 - 18—On the Volga

- 19—On the Volga
- 20—Arrive Stalingrad—morning; leave evening
- 21—Arrive Rostov—evening
- 22—Rostov
- 23—Rostov
- 24—Rostov
- 25—Leave Rostov—morning; arrive Kharkov—evening
- 26—Kharkov
- 27—Kharkov—leave evening
- 28—Kiev
- 29—Leave Kiev, for Shepetovka

ITINERARY NO. 6

(15 Day Itinerary—Supplementary Cost \$20.00)

- Aug. 14—Leave Moscow—late afternoon
- 15—Arrive Kharkov—noon
 - 16—Leave Kharkov—evening
 - 17—Enroute
 - 18—Arrive Kislovodsk
 - 19—Kislovodsk to Ordzhonikidze
 - 20—Georgian Highway
 - 21—Tiflis—leave for Batum
 - 22—Batum—leave evening for Yalta
 - 23—Enroute
 - 24—Enroute
 - 25—Arrive Yalta—morning
 - 26—Yalta
 - 27—Leave Yalta—morning
 - 28—Arrive Odessa—morning; leave afternoon
 - 29—Kiev

Students are urged to select their itinerary, and indicate their choice upon the attached registration form, before sailing from New York. Although it is permissible to choose the itinerary while in residence in Moscow, in order to avoid congestion in office routine it is advisable that the choice of itinerary be indicated as soon as possible.

ACCOMMODATIONS *and* SOCIAL LIFE

Accommodations offered to visitors attending the summer session of the Moscow University are of the dormitory type. These quarters are designed for students who wish to approximate in their living conditions the life of the typical Soviet students.

Persons desiring individual rooms, or rooms for two, may be accommodated in the dormitories; but since the number of such rooms is limited, requests for other than regular dormitory quarters will be considered in order of their receipt. Supplementary rates for individual or double rooms will be supplied upon request.

Accommodations include three full meals daily and lodging. In addition, the Summer Session provides guide and interpreter service, rail and motor travel, through INTOURIST, the Soviet State Travel Company.

The spirit of the summer session is that of the true Soviet school. In its unique student organization and control of all physical and academic problems, the visitor to the Moscow University begins to understand, through a feeling of participation, the functioning of a Soviet university.

Athletic, cultural and social activities after school hours are provided for the visitor through the cooperation of Soviet student groups. Sightseeing, the theatre, the cinema, boating and bathing, the publishing of a "wall newspaper," are but a few of the extra curricular activities available. Soviet life is rich in cultural opportunities for all. The tourist is usually unable to fully avail himself of these opportunities. But the student of the summer session will have ample opportunity to participate in any activity he chooses.

Students accepting dormitory accommodations must be fully aware that these accommodations are not luxurious. They are plain but clean. They do not provide the privacy or comforts offered by hotels. Dormitory accommodations are available mainly because many students cannot afford the higher cost of hotel residence. There are separate dormitories for men and women, with a limited number of rooms for married couples.

ACADEMIC CREDIT

The Moscow University Summer Session certifies foreign students for full academic credit at the University of Moscow. The student may offer the certificate of attendance and credit, issued by the University of Moscow, to the faculty of the American college or university at which he is regularly enrolled, for evaluation and recognition in accordance with the policies and procedures of the institution. In order to assist in the evaluation of credit, the director of the Moscow University Summer Session will provide the dean, faculty advisor or other administrative official with a full academic description of courses and of the progress in work of each student. The minimum university credit possible is two points and the maximum is six points (semester units).

New York City school teachers may offer the certificates issued by the University of Moscow to meet the requirements for annual salary increment (alertness credit).

Credit will be granted only to those students in regular attendance, who have satisfactorily met all the requirements of Moscow University. Final examinations will be given in all courses.

REGISTRATION *and* FEES

Courses are open to all persons interested in the cultural and social progress of the Soviet Union.

Registrants desiring academic credit must be bona-fide undergraduate or graduate university students; teachers on elementary, secondary or university level; or social workers.

Before registering, students must examine the daily class schedule in order not to enroll in courses conflicting with each other. After the student's application has been received and accepted, the Educational Department of

Intourist will issue to each student a class admission card as well as a student identification card. All student applications must be approved by the office of the Institute of International Education.

Tuition fees are payable at time of registration. All checks for tuition and registration fees must be made payable to the order of INTOURIST, INC., which is empowered to collect fees for the Moscow University. The total registration fee is \$2.50, regardless of the number of courses in which the student may enroll. The tuition fee for each thirty-hour course is \$20.00; the tuition fee for each sixty-hour course is \$40.00.

Tuition fees will be refunded in case of changed plans, at any time prior to July 3, 1935. Registration fees will not be refunded.

MAINTENANCE COST

The cost of maintenance for the entire summer session, from July 16 to August 25th, inclusive is \$176.00.

This amount includes the cost of maintenance in Leningrad or Moscow from July 16th to July 18th; maintenance in dormitories from July 19th to August 13th; maintenance and third-class travel costs from August 14th to August 25th, inclusive.

Students may purchase all travel and maintenance service through local travel agents. INTOURIST, INC., provides all travel agents with complete information concerning maintenance, travel and other services in the Soviet Union. After the student has purchased the necessary service through the travel agent, he will be supplied with covering service-documents to be presented upon his arrival in the Soviet Union to Intourist.

At the earliest possible date, each student will receive a dormitory room-assignment card, a student identification card, and the necessary class admission cards.

REGISTRATION FORM MOSCOW UNIVERSITY (*Summer Session*) (ANGLO-AMERICAN SECTION)

DIRECTIONS:

1. Please print legibly in ink. Answer all questions.
 2. Consult *Daily Class Schedule* before listing courses.
 3. If you desire academic credit, consult the dean or advisor of your school.
 4. Checks or money orders must be drawn to order of INTOURIST, INC.
 5. Mail application form, together with tuition and registration fees, to the EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT, INTOURIST, INC., 545 Fifth Ave., New York City.
 6. For travel information and purchase of maintenance services in the Soviet Union, consult your local travel agent.
- (USE FORM ON REVERSE)

For Travel Information Apply to
WORLD TOURISTS, Inc.

175 Fifth Avenue
NEW YORK CITY

Printed in U.S.A.

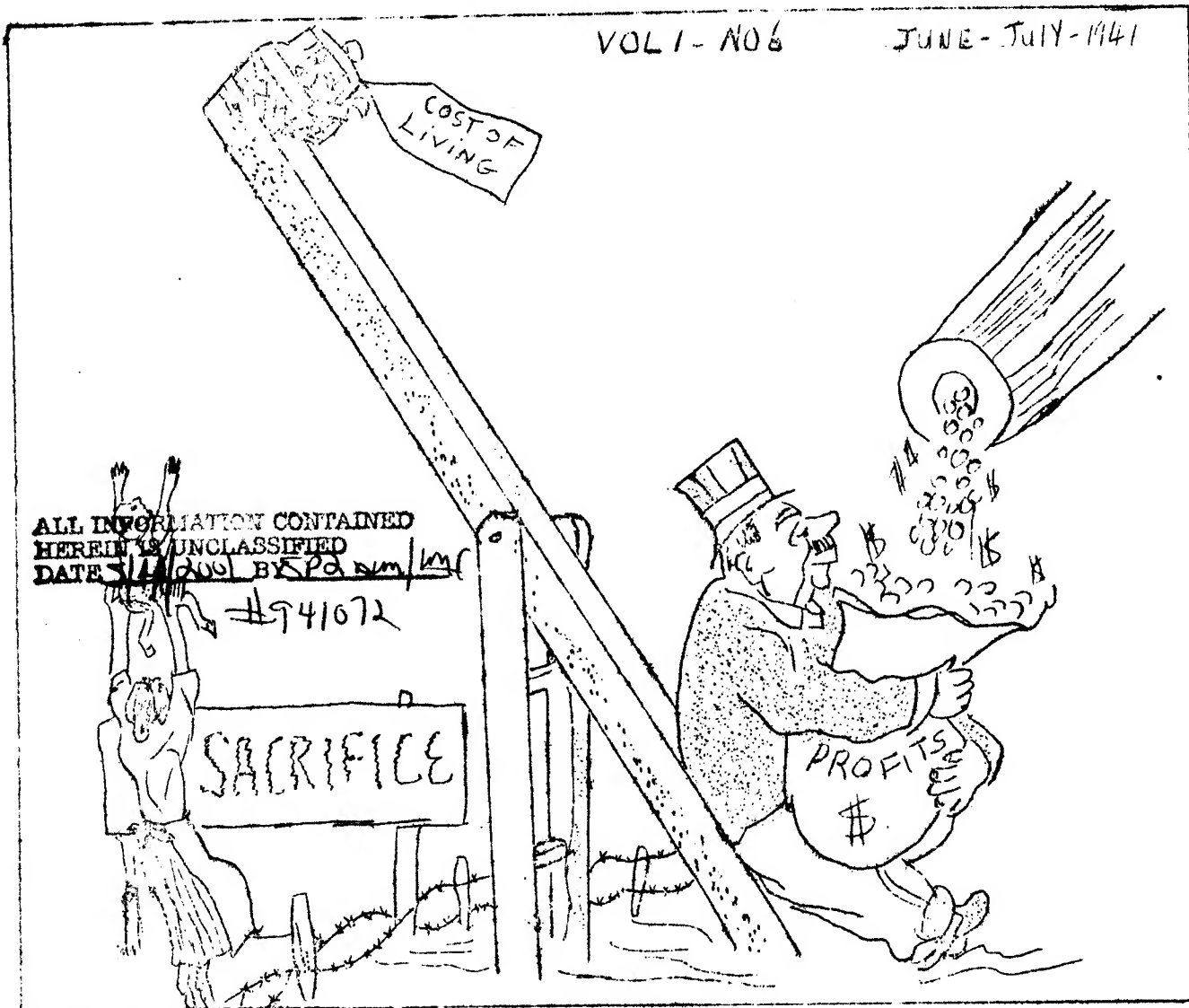
APPLICATION FORM

Name		Address	
Birth date	Occupation	Place of work	
Degrees	Present academic status	School or college	
Do you desire credit?	Have you consulted Dean or Advisor?	His Name	
Give one University reference (Name)	(Address)		
List courses in which you are enrolling: (1)	(2)		
(Maximum of three)	(3)		
If enrolling in advanced course, list previous courses or work in field:			
If applying for exemption from prerequisite course, state reasons:			
List Soviet Union Itinerary No.	Total amount of fees enclosed:		
(Date)		(Signature)	

THE BULLETIN

VOL 1 - NO 6

JUNE - JULY - 1941



Government reports show a huge "surplus" of all farm produce. There is a "surplus" of wheat, corn, butter, pork, beef and eggs. Yet when the housewife goes to the store she finds that food prices have gone up like a skyrocket.

The farmers and independent merchants are not benefiting from the rise in prices. The price increases are due only to Wall Street speculating and profiteering. The big corporation profit reports tell the story. This is why American housewives are having to feed their families less.

Now is the time to organize against the high cost of living. Raise the question in your union, lodge or church organization and organize community pressure to force Congress to act to stop all war profiteering and speculation on the necessities of life.

LET THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS KNOW THAT YOU ARE OPPOSED TO CROP REDUCTION WHILE PEOPLE NEED FOOD. SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF ORGANIZED LABOR TO MAKE POSSIBLE CROP CONSUMPTION BY WINNING HIGHER WAGES.

F. B. I.

CHARLOTTE, N.C.

ENCLOSURE

THE BULLETIN is published by the
N.C. State Committee of the
Communist Party.
Bart Logan, Editor....P.O.Box 93
High Point, N.C.

FIGHT AMERICAN HITLERISM!

President Roosevelt recently issued a statement "deploring" discrimination against Negro workers in defense industries. The President's statement was the result of widespread protests of organized labor and Negro organizations against the industrial Hitlerism that denies jobs to Negro and Jewish workers.

How much the President's statement means is indicated by the appointment of the reactionary, Negro hater, Senator Byrnes to the Supreme Court. Roosevelt has joined hands with the bourgeois of the south in support of a war program that is called a "war for democracy". Yet the President does nothing to bring about democracy in South Carolina where through the poll tax, fraud and intimidation over half the population is denied the right to vote. On the contrary he upholds and rewards the very men who have led the anti-democratic forces of the south.

It is clear that the Negro people can carry on a successful struggle for better conditions only by rejecting the whole reactionary war program and by joining hands with labor and other progressives forces.



BAYONETS AGAINST DEMOCRACY!

In Nazi Germany it is considered treason for workers to strike for higher wages. Since 1933 the German government has outlawed all actions that might interfere with the profits of the large corporations. In the past the ruling classes and governments of England, France and the United States proved their admiration for the Nazi government by helping Hitler come to power and by helping to conquer the Spanish Republic and Czechoslovakia. They broke with him only when the Nazi government failed to carry out the planned war on the Soviet Union.

The democratic rights of the people of England and France were destroyed in the name of fighting a "holy war for democracy".

Recent events have shown that Wall Street and the Roosevelt Administration are taking the American people down the same road. The army is being used to crush the struggle of American workers for decent wages as part of the preparations to send American boys to die on foreign battlefields. The bayonets used against the picket line at the North American Aviation plant struck a blow at the heart of American democracy. Roosevelt is paying the highest tribute to Hitler by his attacks on labor. Imitation is the highest form of flattery!

The rights of labor won over generations of struggle, are in serious danger. The fight for democracy is not in North Africa but in America.

American boys must be saved from death in a robber's war! American democracy must not be crucified to protect the profits of war-profiteers. Labor and the common people must raise their voices in the demand to Congress and the President: GET OUT AND STAY OUT OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR! NO MORE INSURRECTIONS AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE!!!!

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

High Point, N.C.

Dear Sir:

Dr. Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, like many other "liberals" in the South and in the nation generally, is working overtime to get us into war and to take away the democratic rights of labor and the common people.

Although Dr. Graham's activities include full support to the Roosevelt-Wall Street war drive, membership in the Aid-To-Britain societies, membership on the strike-breaking, anti-labor Mediation Board, he still maintains that he is concerned with freedom and democracy. In line with his "defense" of democracy and freedom, he recently approved the decision of the U.N.C. trustees to curb interracial meetings in the University and to require each teacher to take a Hitler-like oath of allegiance.

While he formerly spoke for peace, (when war seemed distant) and fought for democratic reforms through the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, he now finds that the last war was fought for democracy, and that democracy here in America is not so important as making the world safe for Wall Street and the British Empire. Formerly, Dr. Graham was concerned with jobs for young people graduating from the University, now he calls upon them to give their lives for Wall Street's profits.

Big shot ex-progressives like Dr. Graham are extremely useful for Wall Street's war drive. Because in peace time they spoke mildly against some of the worst horrors in our system, the big money people count on them to lead the intellectuals and other sections of the middle class into the war.

The phoney friends of labor are around us everywhere, still posing as the allies of the common people. But the situation has changed and the working man can only expect betrayal from the liberals who drop their liberalism at the first crack of the war makers whip.

WHITE HOUSE HYMN

The country is in danger;
The enemy's at the gates;
We'll fight them to a finish
At open shop rates.

The hours must be longer;
You must not ask more pay;
Or Bethlehem and Dupont
Will never win the day.

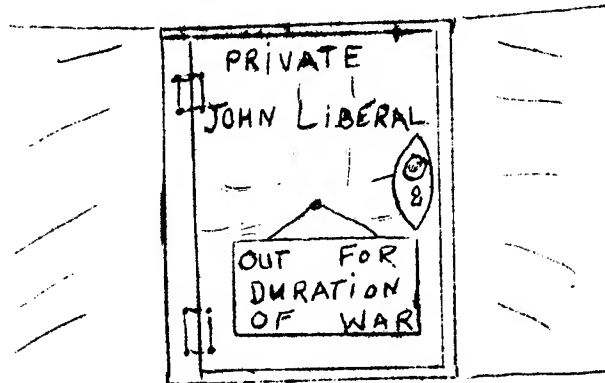
To arms, Jackson! Hillman!
All strikes must be outlawed.
Until the unions are smashed
We will not sheathe the sword.

To arms, Hoover and Dies!
The outlook is quite bleak.
The workers are demanding
a buck more a week.

To arms, my brother-bankers!
Thy speed-up shall be done.
Thy looting shall be guarded
With a "National Defense" gun.

To arms, my little toilers!
While I'm at your head
No Nazis need invade you;
I'm doing it instead.

Walter Lowenfels



Heywood Broun once said that a liberal is a person that leaves the room when the fighting begins. Judging from the antics of some of our tar heel "liberals" we would say that a liberal just leaves his liberalism when the going gets tough. Pity the poor "liberal" who can't get his liberal coat off in time to show J. Edgar Hoover Wall Street's stamp of approval on his chest!

WHO PAYS TAXES?

Judging from the wail of the big corporations that recently resulted in a reduction in excess profit taxes, it might be thought that the war profiteers are being ruined by their tax burden. But a glance at government figures will show that both federal and state taxes hit the poor man hardest. One-sixth of the families in the United States live on \$500 a year or less. This group represents 20 million Americans. A report of the T.N.E.C. shows that this income group pays 22 cents out of every dollar it gets for taxes. The report also shows that people with incomes of from \$10,000 to \$15,000 a year pays only 17 cents out of every dollar received for taxes.

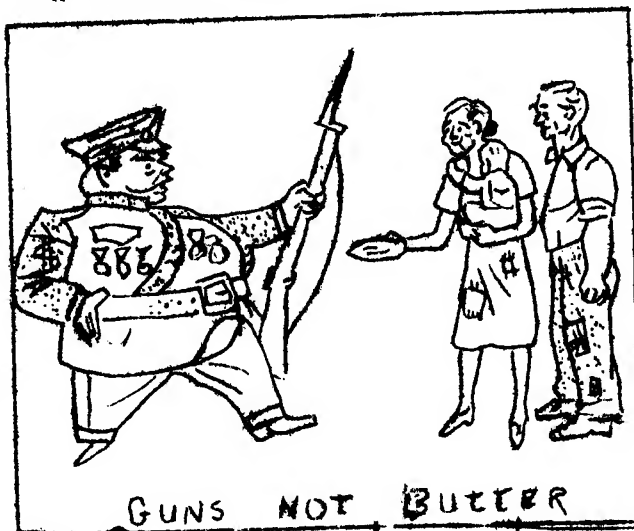
Take a look at taxation in North Carolina. Over half (53%) of all money raised by the state is raised by sales taxes, including gas and beverage taxes. Sales taxes means putting the burden on those least able to pay. Only about 14% of the revenue of the state is raised by income taxes. In N.C. a man like Dick Reynolds, with an income of several hundred thousand dollars a year and owning thousands of acres of land pays about the same percentage for local and state taxes as a man with a small income owning less than a hundred acres of land.

When a poor man pays his tax bill he and his family eat less and have less to spend on clothing. A millionaire could have his local and state taxes increased ten times and never miss the money. You would think that when the State Legislature looks for new sources of revenue they would find ways of taxing big incomes but the Democratic Party Politicians don't like to bite the hand that feeds them. Therefore every two years taxation is increased on small incomes. The Roosevelt War program means even greater taxation on low incomes.

The Communist Party advocates the following tax program:

1. Make the monopolies and the rich carry the main tax burden. Tax war profits 100% and repeal all sales taxes and remove taxes on small incomes.
2. A graduated tax on land and homestead exemption.
3. Repeal the constitutional limit on the state income tax and raise state revenue primarily by high income taxes on corporations and rich individuals.

(For detailed information about the PEOPLE'S TAX PROGRAM of the Communist Party, write to P.O.Box 93, High Point, N.C.)



THE BULLETIN gets no gold from Moscow, nor from the Dukes, Reynolds or Cannons. It is supported by the nickels and dimes of working people. To keep going we need your help. If you like the paper send in a contribution. We welcome comments, letters and articles from our readers. Order extra copies for your friends.

CAROLINA ROUND-UP

FOREST FIRES

Communists, like all people throughout history who have fought for a better world, have been accused of many strange crimes. Governor Broughton is not the kind of man to merely repeat the fairy tales of the Dies Committee and J. Edgar Hoover. He does original thinking and has brought forth the charge that Communists set the forests on fire!

There are some big fires raging in Europe and Asia that are destroying the homes and lives of millions of people. A glance at the record will show that it was the Communists and other working people that tried to prevent the outbreak of these fires and are now working hard to put them out.

Broughton and his fellow corporation lawyers throughout the world hate the Communists because they know that we are the best fire fighters and that we work day and night for a world without the fires of imperialist wars. It is the capitalist class that sets the fires because it profits from war and destruction.

*** **



George W. Hill pays himself \$456,415 a year as president of the American Tobacco Company. As this amounts to over \$200 an hour, it can be clearly seen that he is not a violator of the Wages and Hours Act.

Greensboro has a new "independent" weekly called the "Democrat". The only thing independent about it is its independence from the desires of the people for peace, and it is as democratic as British rule in India. It differs from the daily papers in as much as it wants war first and then an "incident" and the Greensboro daily papers want an "incident" and then war. It is in favor of "good" unions but finds that the only "good" union is a dead union.

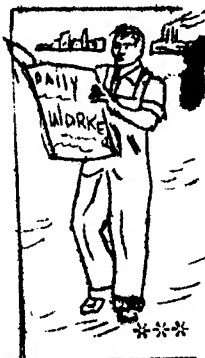
*** **

THE NATIONAL FARM BUREAU has just published a report showing that the farmer's share of a 13 cent package of cigarettes is 1½ cents. From an 8 cent loaf of bread the farmer gets 1 cent and from a 16 cent can of peaches 1.5 cents. Yet the newspapers try to blame the farmers for price rises!

*** **

THE GOVERNMENT has a plan for gasless Sundays. Citizens must not go out for a ride on Sunday so that Japanese planes can bomb Chinese homes on Monday.

*** **



THE DAILY WORKER, America's only daily labor paper, must raise \$110,000 to keep going. If you believe in peace, freedom and security, the DAILY WORKER is your paper. Send in your contribution NOW!

*** **

A must book for everyone who wants to know

THE WAY OUT.

By Earl Browder.....Price

35¢

INVESTIGATIVE

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

CH/ FM TH CAROLINA

FILE NO. b7C

REPORT MADE AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA	DATE WHEN MADE 3-10-43	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 2-43	REP [REDACTED]	BDM:LS
TITLE FRANK PORTER GRAHAM			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY HATCH ACT 72435	

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Mrs. [REDACTED] advised FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was actively engaged in the Southern Summer School at Little Switzerland, N. C. which was sponsored by the Workers Educational Movement. Mrs. [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] together with their addresses and in some cases the unions they represented and their occupation. The speech of HOWARD KESTER, "I See America" was also furnished, together with excerpts from the scrapbook of the Southern Summer School at Little Switzerland, N. C. in 1935. Mrs. [REDACTED] advised the above data was furnished to her by [REDACTED] who was a student at the school, and whom Mrs. [REDACTED] classified as a Communist. The school was allegedly a training school for strike leaders and was one of 28 meetings held in various places throughout the U. S.

INDEXED
FILE: 6
35

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Philadelphia letter to Charlotte dated January 28, 1943.

DETAILS: AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA [REDACTED] #941072

This office was in receipt of a letter from the Philadelphia

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 3 - Charlotte, C. I. R. 2 - Philadelphia 2 - Washington Field 2 - Norfolk APR 1 1943		100-23300-10 MAR 11 1943	RECORDED & INDEXED

COPIES DESTROYED

101-21

Field Division addressed to the Charlotte Field Division which advised that [redacted] advised Special Agent [redacted] in November, 1936 that there was a school in Little Switzerland, North Carolina which taught Communistic principles and that certain classes in this school were conducted by FRANK PORTER GRAHAM who was president of the University of North Carolina. Philadelphia Field Division advised in this letter that Mrs. [redacted] Avenue, [redacted] Virginia.

A review of the Norfolk Field Division files reflects that Mrs.

[redacted] was the [redacted]

[redacted] Virginia, and that she is the [redacted] + 110

A review of the telephone directory reflected that she was presently residing at [redacted] Avenue, [redacted] Virginia.

Mrs. [redacted] advised that she definitely recalled the school which was run in the summer of 1935 at Little Switzerland, N. C. inasmuch as she had at one time collected some data relative to this school, as she desired to write an article about the school to the "Liberty Magazine".

She advised that the school had been presided over unofficially by FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, the President of the University of North Carolina and that he had taken an interested part in the meetings and classes of this school. She stated that the school, as she understood it, took place at the Wild Acres Hotel, which is located near Little Switzerland, N. C. not very far away from the town of Marion, N. C. She stated that, to the best of her knowledge, this school was allegedly a training school for strike leaders and was one of 28 such schools which were being run in different sections of the country at the same particular time. She stated that the school was in session for a period of approximately six weeks, and that the papers in Asheville, N. C. carried considerable data in its pages relative to the school. She advised that a friend of hers by the name of [redacted]

[redacted] not very far from the [redacted] and was reported to have accumulated quite a bit of information relative to this particular school. She stated that so far as she knew Mr. [redacted] still

[redacted] and that [redacted] in [redacted] Georgia. She stated that [redacted] was [redacted]

[redacted] At one time [redacted] in [redacted] Georgia.

She stated that she had been informed by friends of hers that FRANK PORTER GRAHAM had attended the school, had given lectures at the school on numerous occasions and that every night at the conclusion of the classes the National Communist song was sung.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/10/2001 BY SP8 RUM/m

NOV 9 1973
AD
ALREADY ORIGINAL RETURN

b7C

b7D

101-21

Mrs. [redacted] advised that [redacted]
of [redacted] Virginia, whom she alleged was a Communist and who
is reported [redacted] and [redacted]

NAME

INDUSTRY

PRESENT WORK

TRADE UNION

Textile
(organizer)

Unemployed

UTWA

Cotton
Textile

Battery
filler

UTWA

Textile
(rayon)

Reeler

UTWA

Men's
Clothing

on
Strike

ACWA

Men's
Clothing

On
Strike

ACWA

Ladies'
Clothing

Finisher

ILGWU

Men's
Underwear

Hemming
Armholes

Textile
(cotton)

Battery
Hand

UTWA

Textile

Unemployed

UTWA

b7C

b7D

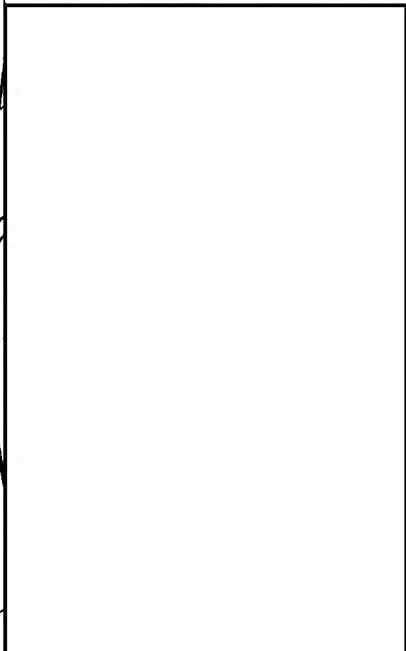
101-21

NAME

b7C

INDUSTRY	PRESENT WORK	TRADE UNION
Men's Clothing	On Strike	ACWA
Textile (cotton)	On Strike	UTWA
Textile (cotton)	On Strike	UTWA
Silk Dresses	Operator	ILGWU
Dressmaker	Operator	ILGWU
Hosiery	Folding	
Textile Cotton Rayon	Unemployed	UTWA
Textile	Spinner	UTWA
Hosiery	Housewife	
Men's Clothing	On Strike	ACWA
Textile (cotton)	Unemployed Weaver	UTWA
Garment Worker		UGWA

b7C
NAME

A large rectangular box that has been completely redacted, leaving it blank.

INDUSTRY

Men's
Underwear

Housewife

Hosiery

Textile
(cotton)

Paper Box
and
Domestic

PRESENT WORK

Seamer

Folder

On Strike

TRADE UNION

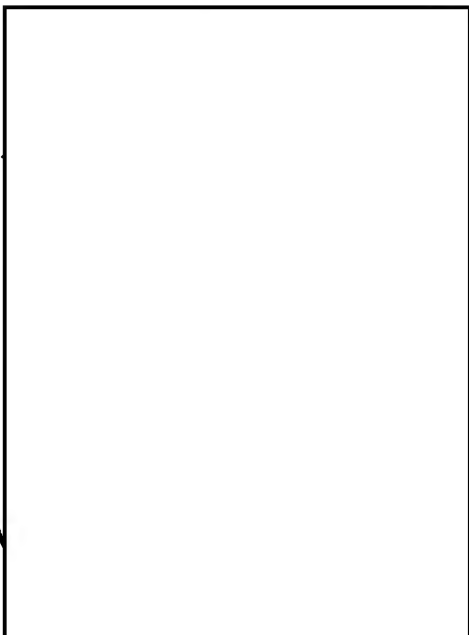
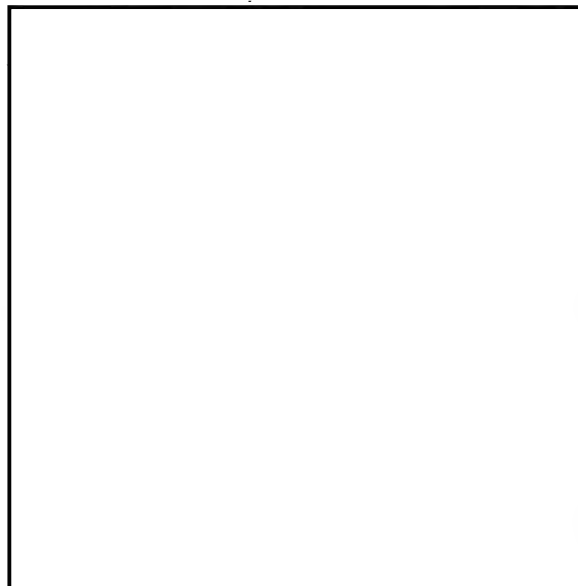
UCWA

AUXILIARY OIL
FIELD, GAS WELL
AND REFINERY

UTWA

PART TIME STUDENTS

b7C

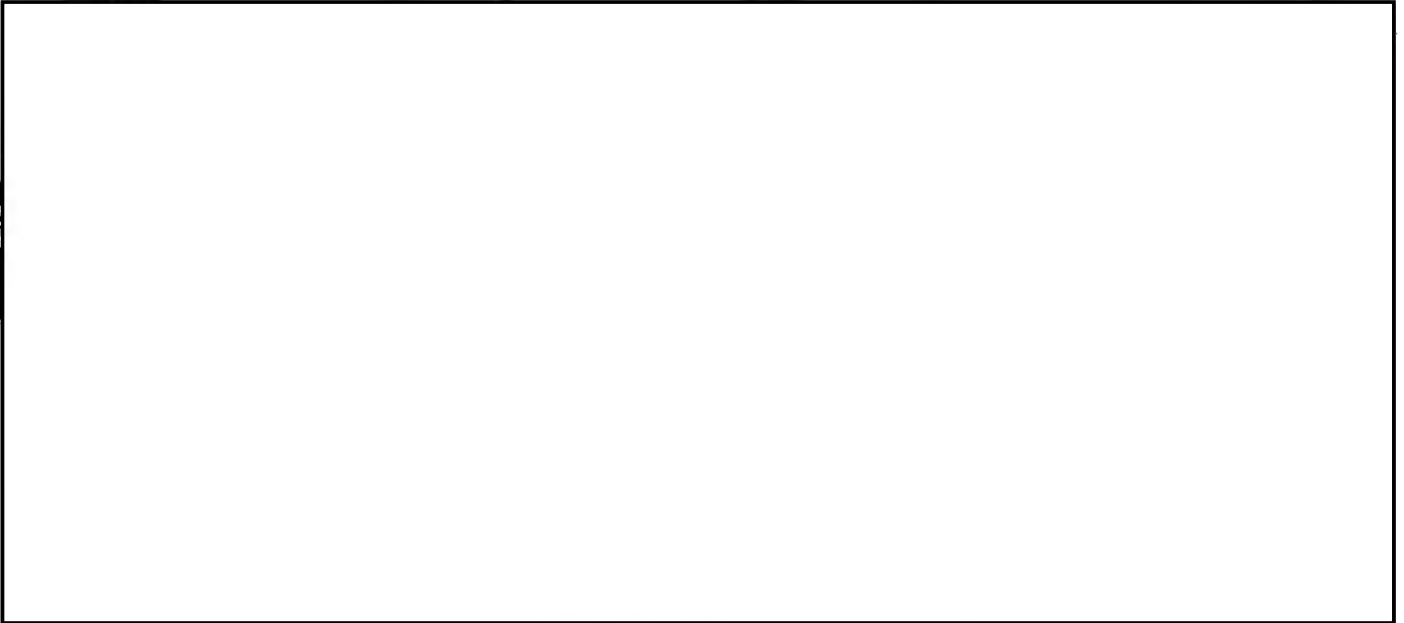
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FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

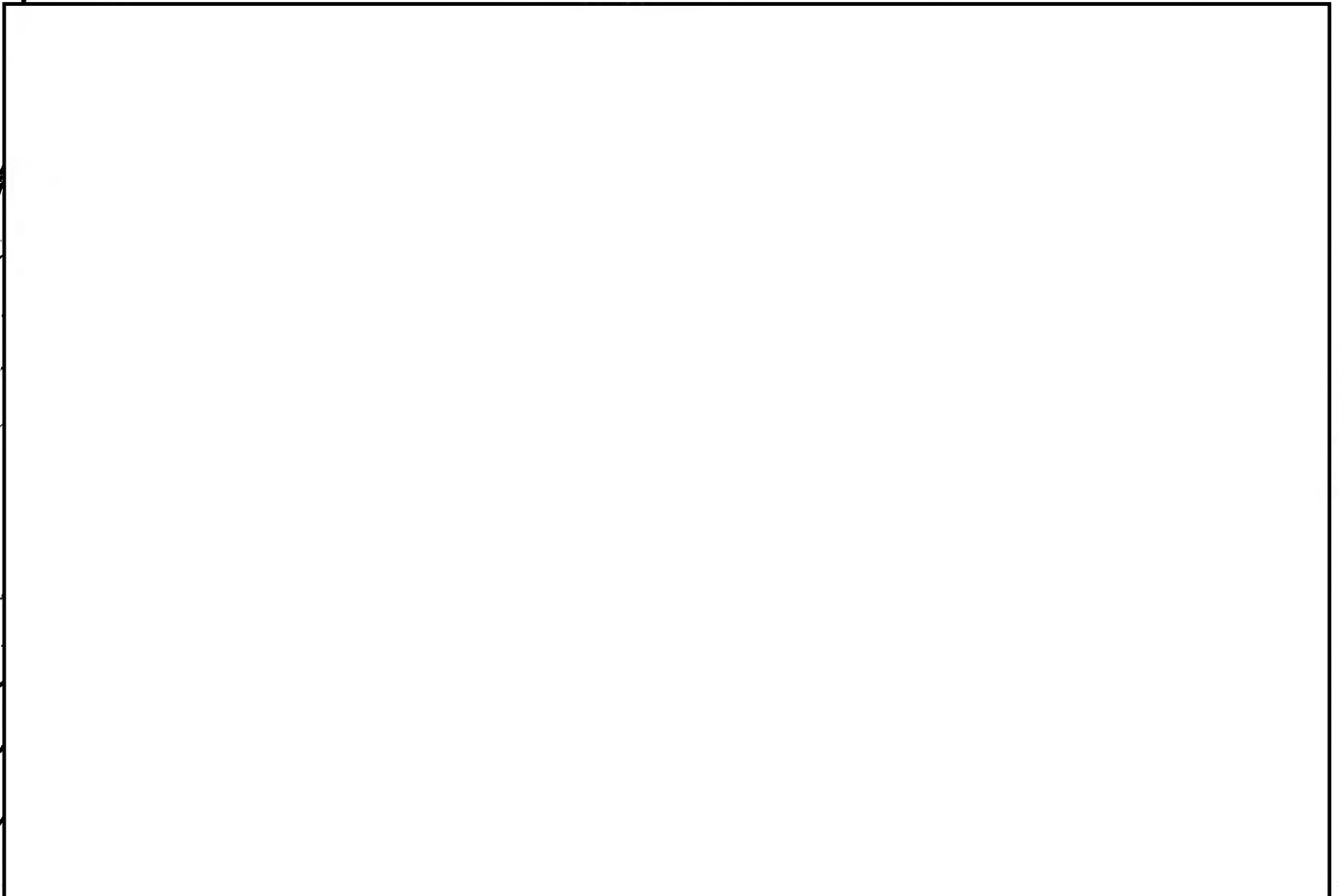
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101-21

b7C



STUDENT TEACHERS



101-21

Mrs. [] also furnished notes which contained the following comments:

"On the faculty and administrative staff of the Southern Summer School at Little Switzerland, N. C. in 1935 — sponsored by the ~~Worker's~~ Educational Movement

"~~MARY~~ BRINKLEY, 302 East 35th St., New York.

"~~LOUISE~~ McLAREN, 302 East 35th St., New York.

"Excerpts from the Scrap Book, Southern Summer School, at Little Switzerland, N. C. 1935.....

"Depressions are not new under Capitalism, a system which produces goods for profit rather than for use..... A recent survey has shown that every worker in the U. S. by working 40 hours weekly could be given the equivalent of \$5,000 yearly, if the natural and productive resources were used without waste and to capacity..... According to the Brookings Institute during the five years of depression we could have had \$260,000,000 more of goods and services. We found our Government suppressing production instead of increasing..... The main reason for all our government plans under Roosevelt was to save capitalism.....

"What will the changes need to be to meet the situation? We find the NRA did not solve the question of distribution of wealth. It made it worse....."

Mrs. [] also furnished a copy of the speech by HOWARD KESTER, entitled "I See America".

"I see more than a hundred million men, women and children living in the richest country on the face of the earth. I see great cities, broad and fertile fields, vast forests, mountains of coal and iron, acres of oil and natural gas, broad and mighty rivers, huge factories for the making of all things needful to men, rich and fertile farms and vast plantations. I see a country with almost limitless resources with a productive plant sufficient to give all men economic security, leisure, freedom, plenty, in short the Good Life.

"I see this great productive plant collapse.

"I see misery and suffering and hate and fear.

"I see 14,000,000 men walk the streets of our great cities in search of jobs that don't exist.

101-21

"I see millions more living on death-colored wages.

"I see the few well-fed, clothed, housed; the many hungry, cold, living in dilapidate houses and shacks. I see the few living in luxury; the many living in appalling poverty and want.

"I see giant factories producing hats, shoes, stockings, underwear, suits, dresses and in the shadow of the great factory I see little children and men and women suffering for the want of these things.

"I see old men and women with gnarled hands, wrinkled and weather-beaten faces, bent and twisted bodies with a look of pain and despair in their eyes. They have come to the sunset of life and only poverty and want greet them.

"I see reformatories, jails, state and federal prisons filled to overflowing with young men and women, my brothers and sisters, and yours. Once they dreamed dreams and saw visions even as we today dream of a better world to come. Now they are broken, frustrated, embittered. Life has been ugly and cruel.

"I see prostitutes unwillingly sell themselves to men because there are no jobs and because there are food and clothes to buy.

"I see children ragged, undernourished, without books going to an underpaid teacher. I see 1000 schools closed.

"I see my people going after dark to garbage cans to find food for hungry mouths.

"I see millions of negroes condemned to peonage and slavery. I see them denied elemental decency and elemental justice. I see them underpaid, exploited, disfranchised, forced to live in the least desirable part of the country. I see them humiliated, brutalized, lynched. I see a little brown boy kneel by his bed and pray, "Oh, God! Let me not be a negro in America!"

"I see a coal camp in Tennessee.

"I see ragged bodies, hungry mouths, staring eyes.

"I see a mother mixing flour and water for milk for her baby.

"I see the town the miners live in; unpainted shacks, black mud and red hills, deep gullies, grunting pigs and stinking privies.

"I see a miner, "How much do you make in a year?" He answers, '\$298.00'.

"I see a share-cropper in Arkansas and we talk.

"How many years have you been working here?" "Fifteen."

"How many bales of cotton will you raise?" "Four".

"How many bales of cotton did you raise last year?" "Six."

"What is the most cotton you ever raised?" "Seventeen."

"What is the least you ever raised?" "Four."

101-21

"How much money have you received in fifteen years?" "\$700.00".

"He wants to leave but he cannot. His landlord says he is indebted to him. The law says he cannot go. He is an unwilling slave. A peon.

"I see a man on relief. He has a wife and three children. He had a job, insurance, money in the bank. Now it is all gone. They tried to evict him from his home when he couldn't pay the rent. 'How much do you get from the Associated Charities?' '\$4.30'.

"I see five negroes strung up to a limb on an Alabama highway.

"I see a textile worker, tall, gaunt, red-eyed, emaciated broken, tubercular. Once he lived in the mountains of North Carolina and understood the meaning of freedom. Now he is a wage-slave down in the mill village. He works from 40 to 50 hours a week, does the work of three men and gets \$12 a week.

"I see workers strike for shorter hours, elimination of the stretchout system, a living wage, decent working conditions. I see the owners hire gunmen and guns and thugs to intimidate, coerce and, if necessary, kill the workers. I see gas guns, gas bombs, machine guns, Springfield rifles, bayonets I see workers flogged, jailed, murdered. I see them forced by violence to accept the wages the employers give them.

"I see workers talking of Section 7-A, of the right of collective bargaining and of other rights guaranteed them by the Roosevelt Administration. When they strike, I see the state through its courts, through its military arm breaking the strike in San Francisco and elsewhere in America. I see workers put behind a barbed-wire enclosure in Georgia as if they were so many wild beasts. I see 40 workers fall before the bullets, bayonets and clubs of company gunmen, state troopers, national guardsmen.

"I see 8,000,000 babies crying for milk. I see their misshapen bodies, their pinched and bloodless faces. I see pellagra, tuberculosis, pneumonia, destroying my little brothers and sisters.

"I see my people hungry for meat and I see a supposedly intelligent Government wantonly destroy millions of pigs.

"I see little children, old men and women, boys and girls without sufficient clothes to protect their bodies and I see cotton plowed under the ground.

"I see a young man inherit \$25,000,000 without ever lifting a finger to create it. I know it is blood money wrung from the sweating backs of tobacco farmers and workers receiving starvation wages in his father's factory.

101-21

"They tell me my people are free, but I know that my people are slaves."

HOWARD KESTER

When questioned concerning this speech, Mrs. [] advised b7C that she did not know definitely that this speech was read at the school or given by HOWARD KESTER or not. She advised that she did not know if KESTER was a member of the school, but stated that she was inclined to believe that he had been a member of the school.

Mrs. [] requested that the above mentioned data furnished b7C to the writer be returned, and as a result they are not being sent as enclosures to the Charlotte Field Division.

Inasmuch as there is no further investigation to be made in this matter in the Norfolk Field Division this case is being referred upon completion to the office of origin.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

101-21

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE CHARLOTTE FIELD DIVISION

AT ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

Will check at the offices of the different newspapers located there in order to obtain any data relative to instant school.

AT LITTLE SWITZERLAND:

Will attempt to locate [redacted] who is reported to [redacted] b7C
[redacted] and interview
[redacted] relative to his knowledge of instant school.